

THE POWER  
OF  
NON-VIOLENCE



# THE POWER OF NON-VIOLENCE

BY  
RICHARD B. GREGG



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TO

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI



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## PREFACE TO THE BRITISH EDITION

THE struggle in India during 1930-33 proves that there is power in the method of non-violent resistance which Gandhi advocates and uses. If, then, this method of solving conflicts has elements of practical validity, the perils of war and class-conflict make it important for us to learn whatever may help to evolve peace. Is non-violent resistance applicable in the West, or not? To what extent is it practical, and why? Is it intellectually and morally respectable, or not? The subject of pacifism, in both individual and collective use, should be removed from the profitless atmosphere of emotional adjectives and of vague mysticism, futile protests and sentimentalism combined with confused thinking. We need to understand non-violent resistance much more clearly and fully.

It is difficult for one trained in modern Western modes of thought and action to understand this idea or to believe that its practice can be cogent. Even Gandhi's explanations of it fail to carry weight with most of us. His explanations come out of a background of thought, feeling and attitude of life very different from ours. The assumptions of Indians are different, and so are their social experience, the elements of thought which are implicit but never definitely stated, their historical allusions, their analogies and figures of speech. Therefore, I have felt it

desirable to try to restate and explain this method in modern Western concepts and terminology. But the book is not a history of the Indian struggle for independence, or even of Gandhi's part in it.

I have tried to test the idea of non-violence with the recent findings of psychology, military and political strategy, political theory, economics, physiology, biology, ethics, penology, and education. Yet I have tried to be simple, to avoid technical jargon, and to keep the treatment fresh. I have tried to meet all the critics of the idea fairly on their own ground. Because the subject is controversial, and in order to aid any who may doubt or disagree with my conclusions, I have cited my main sources and authorities in notes at the end of the book.

I have, however, not limited the explanation merely to Gandhi's own concepts or to India, but have tried to explain and evaluate the principle in its application in any country, at any time, under any circumstances and for any cause. I have attempted to show why persuasion of this sort is more powerful and more permanently advantageous than physical coercion. Some sensitive people will see many moral beauties involved in non-violent resistance. Although the moral beauty of the method is an important and enduring factor in its power, there is no room to discuss it in this book, and, anyhow, I do not feel competent for that. Consideration of that element must be sought elsewhere. This book attempts only to be

a rational discussion of the other and less subtle elements of the validity and power of the method.

If we want a better world, we must be prepared to do some careful thinking. It is time we stopped being sketchy on a matter which really touches us all so closely. For in reality this matter of handling conflict constructively is of immediate interest to everyone who has ever been angry or afraid, resentful, revengeful or bitter; who has ever taken part in a fight, mob-violence or war; or who has been the object of anger, hatred, exploitation or oppression. It touches all who are troubled lest the great economic, political and social questions which are pressing upon all nations will issue in appalling violence and increased insecurity for everyone. It is also important to those who hope that somehow the ideals and conduct of mankind can be harmonised, and ideals be made practical.

My qualifications for writing this book are experiences of conflict involved in three years' practice of law and seven years' in industrial relations work,—investigation, conciliation, arbitration, publicity and statistical work for trade unions,—followed by a stay in India of nearly four years beginning with 1925, another six-weeks' visit to India in March and April, 1930, a careful study while there of Gandhi's movement and of all his writings, so far as I could find them, and a study of much of the other literature of the entire subject of conflict and peace.

To all the profound, clear and sensitive minds with which I have come in contact, in India and

in other countries, in the past and the present, I owe a great obligation. To Gandhi especially I am grateful. For criticism and help I desire to thank especially my wife, C. F. Andrews, W. Norman Brown, Caroline F. Tupper, Blanche Watson, John Nevin Sayre and my sister Marjorie T. Gregg. I want also to thank all the authors and publishers who have kindly permitted me to quote from their books and articles. In each such case I have mentioned the author, publisher and book or article at the appropriate place.

South Natick,  
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U. S. A.

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# THE POWER OF NON-VIOLENCE



## CHAPTER I

### MODERN EXAMPLES OF NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE

THERE have been many instances of successful use of non-violent resistance in different countries and at different times. As the taste of historians inclines more toward politics and wars, these other events have received but slight attention at their hands, and the records of many of them have been lost. In some instances the non-violent resistance was by individuals, in other instances it took a mass or corporate form. The latter form is rarer and perhaps more significant. For this reason and because this book is not primarily a history, I will only attempt to tell of a few outstanding modern examples of the latter sort, giving references, however, to books in which cases of both kinds are described.

The first one to be considered occurred in Hungary during the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The Emperor Franz Josef was trying to subordinate Hungary to the Austrian power, contrary to the terms of the old treaty of union of those two countries. The Hungarian moderates felt helpless, as they were too weak to fight. But Francis Deak, a Catholic landowner of Hungary, protested to them — “Your laws are violated, yet your mouths remain closed! Woe to the nation which raises no protest when its rights are outraged! It contributes to its own slavery by its silence. The

nation which submits to injustice and oppression without protest is doomed."

Deak proceeded to organise a scheme for independent Hungarian education, agriculture and industry, a refusal to recognise the Austrian Government in any way, and a boycott against Austrian goods. He admonished the people not to be betrayed into acts of violence, nor to abandon the ground of legality. "This is the safe ground," he said, "on which, unarmed ourselves, we can hold our own against armed force. If suffering must be necessary, suffer with dignity." This advice was obeyed throughout Hungary.

When the Austrian tax collector came the people did not beat him or even hoot him—they merely declined to pay. The Austrian police then seized their goods, but no Hungarian auctioneer would sell them. When an Austrian auctioneer was brought, he found that he would have to bring bidders from Austria to buy the goods. The Government soon discovered that it was costing more to distrain the property than the tax was worth.

The Austrians attempted to billet their soldiers upon the Hungarians. The Hungarians did not actively resist the order, but the Austrian soldiers, after trying to live in houses where everyone despised them, protested strongly against it. The Austrian Government declared the boycott of Austrian goods illegal, but the Hungarians defied the decree. The jails were filled to overflowing. No representatives from Hungary would sit in the Imperial Parliament.

The Austrians then tried conciliation. The prisoners were released and partial self-government given. But Hungary insisted upon its full claims. In reply, Emperor Franz Josef decreed compulsory military service. The Hungarians answered that they would refuse to obey it. Finally, on February 18, 1867, the Emperor capitulated and gave Hungary her constitution.

This campaign seems to have been defective because of some violence of inner attitude on the part of the Hungarians. But even so, it provided a remarkable example of the power of non-violent resistance, even though the principle was imperfectly realised and applied.

The next example occurred in South Africa. It lasted eight years, beginning in 1906. For many years previously Indians had been coming to Natal as manual workers in the mines and elsewhere, originally at the invitation of the Europeans who wished to develop the country. Many thousands of the Indians came as indentured labourers, whose term of service was five years. They were industrious, entered into farming and trade, and thereby began to compete with the Europeans. By 1906 some 12,500 of them had crossed the border and settled in the Transvaal. They were subject to many unfair laws. In 1906, the Government of the Transvaal introduced a bill in the legislature which would require every Indian to be registered by finger-print, like criminals, and to produce his certificate of registration upon demand of any police officer at any time. Failure to register meant deportation,

and refusal to produce the certificate would be punished by fine.

The Indians had always been subject to severe restrictions, but this proposal meant their complete subjection and probably their destruction as a community. Under the leadership of an Indian lawyer, M. K. Gandhi, they held meetings of protest and asked for hearings on the bill. But the Government ruthlessly passed it. Thereupon the leading Indians, at a huge mass meeting, took an oath that they would all refuse to register and would go to jail rather than obey the law, which by its terms they regarded as an attack upon the very foundations of their religion, their national honour, their racial self-respect, and their manhood.

They stuck to their resolve and Gandhi and many others went to jail. The Prime Minister, General Smuts, then undertook to have the law repealed if the Indians would register voluntarily. The Indians agreed and did their part, but General Smuts did not carry out his side of the agreement. Not only that, but the Government introduced a further bill which applied the old registration law to all Asiatics who had not voluntarily registered. The Indians then resolved to renew the struggle.

Not long after that, in 1913, a European judge in the Transvaal Supreme Court made a court decision which invalidated all Hindu and Mohammedan marriages, and thus rendered all the Indian children illegitimate and incapable of inheriting property. This roused all the Indian women. A group of them, at Gandhi's suggestion,

crossed from the Transvaal to Natal, an act forbidden to them by law, and picketed the Natal mines which were worked by Indian labourers. The women were imprisoned. But the men, numbering about five thousand, all came out on strike as a protest against this court decision about marriages and against a very heavy and oppressive head-tax which practically kept them in slavery. Under Gandhi's leadership they started a march on foot across the border into the Transvaal, by way of a non-violent protest. It was against the law for Indians to cross the boundary line in either direction without permission.

Gandhi notified the Government of this proposal and asked for a revocation of the law, several days before the march, and again just before it started, but to no effect.

They marched, some four thousand strong, about twenty-five miles a day, living on the charity of Indian merchants. During the march Gandhi was arrested three times, released on bail twice, and finally put in jail. The border was crossed and the army continued, leaderless, but still non-violent. Finally they were all arrested and taken back by train to Natal. They had accomplished their object,—namely to be put in jail and to make an effective protest.

They were impounded at the mines and beaten and ill-treated. Still they remained firm and non-violent. This brutal affair aroused a tremendous storm of public opinion both in South Africa and India. Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy of India, in a

public speech at Madras, praised and defended the conduct of the non-violent resisters and protested against the acts of the Union of South Africa. Two Englishmen, Messrs. C. F. Andrews and W. W. Pearson, went from India at the request of the Indian public. Later on, the Viceroy sent Sir Benjamin Robertson to represent the Government of India. But the negotiations with the protesting Indians remained entirely in Gandhi's hands.

General Smuts, seeing that he must retreat, appointed a committee of investigation to save the face of the Government, and at the same time released Gandhi and two other leaders of the Indians. The Indians requested Indian representation on the committee of inquiry as surety of good faith. General Smuts refused, so Gandhi prepared to renew the struggle.

Just then a strike broke out among the European railwaymen in South Africa. Gandhi saw that the Government was in a very difficult situation, but instead of taking advantage of the incident, he chivalrously suspended the Indian struggle until the railway strike was over, an act which won much admiration for the Indians.

After the railway strike was over, General Smuts found it necessary to yield, and the Indians won all the major parts of their demands, namely the abolition of the registration, the abolition of the three-pound head-tax, the validation of their marriages, the right of entry of educated Indians, and an assurance of just administration of existing laws. Thus the whole struggle was won by non-violent resistance.<sup>2</sup>



Another application of this principle was in behalf of the indigo peasant farmers of Champaran, a district of Bihar, in northern India, in 1917. The peasants there were compelled by law to plant three-twentieths of all their land in indigo and also were subject to other oppressive exactions by the planters. Gandhi, who had returned to live in India in 1914, was invited to investigate the conditions of the workers on the indigo plantations and the treatment given them by their employers. He began his inquiry without publicity but the planters much resented his activities there and persuaded the District Magistrate that the presence of Gandhi was dangerous to the peace of the district. The Magistrate served an order upon Gandhi to leave the district by the next available train. Gandhi replied that he had come there from a sense of duty, that nothing was being done except carefully and quietly to ascertain facts, and that he would stay and, if necessary, submit to the penalty for disobedience.

He and his companions then proceeded quietly to take down in writing the statements of the peasants who came flocking to tell of their wrongs. The witnesses were questioned to elicit the exact truth. The Government sent police officers who were present at these proceedings and took notes of what happened. Gandhi and his assistants arranged that if he should be jailed or deported, two of them would go on with the taking of peasants' testimony; and if those two were arrested, then two more should take up the work, and so on.

Gandhi was summoned to court and tried. He simply pleaded guilty, and stated that he was faced with a conflict of duty—whether to obey the law or his conscience and the humane purposes for which he had come; and that under the circumstances he could only throw the responsibility of removing him upon the administration. The Magistrate postponed judgment, and before it was rendered the Lieutenant-Governor gave orders that Gandhi should be permitted to proceed with the investigation. Then the Governor of the province interested himself in the case and, after conferring with Gandhi, appointed a Government commission of inquiry with Gandhi as a member. The commission reported unanimously that the law was unfair and the exactions of the big planters unjust. The law was repealed and justice given to the peasants. All this was wholly non-violent.<sup>3</sup> In purpose, the struggle was purely for economic justice, with no political implications.

Another non-violent struggle, this time for social rights, took place in a village called Vykom, in the State of Travancore in southern India. It was also directed by Gandhi, through some of his followers. A highway ran through the low-lying country around Vykom and through the village and close by the Brahman quarter and a temple. For centuries the Brahmans had refused to permit any low-caste "untouchable" people to use this road. The followers of Gandhi decided that this custom must be ended, and the road thrown open to all human beings alike. Gandhi was ill, many

hundred miles away, but the young leaders came forth and consulted with him on the plan of campaign, and as it proceeded he instructed them by letters and telegrams from his sick bed. Later he visited Vykom personally.

The leaders started the struggle by taking several of the "untouchable" friends with them along this road and into the Brahman quarter. They were immediately beaten by the Brahmans, and one was seriously hurt. But the young reformers offered no violence in return. Then the police arrested several of these young men for encouraging trespass. They were condemned to prison for different periods of time, up to one year. At once, volunteers came pouring in from all parts of the country to take the place of those who were arrested. The State then forbade any further arrests but ordered the police to prevent any more of the reformers from entering the road. The police made a cordon across the road. Thereupon, by instructions from Gandhi, the reformers stood opposite the police barrier in an attitude of prayer. They organised themselves into shifts, taking turns in standing there for six hours at a time. They built a hut near by, undertook their duties on a religious basis and did hand-spinning while not on active duty. At no time did they offer any violence.

This programme continued for months. Gandhi told them it must continue indefinitely until the hearts of the Brahmans should be melted. Finally the rainy season came and the road, being on low ground, was flooded. Still the volunteers

continued to stand, at times up to their shoulders in water, while the police kept the cordon in small boats. The shifts had to be shortened to three hours.

All this time there was a furore of discussion of the matter all over India. The endurance and the consistent non-violence of the reformers was finally too much for the obstinacy of the Brahmans. In the autumn of 1925 after a year and four months they broke down saying, "We cannot any longer resist the prayers that have been made to us, and we are ready to receive the untouchables." The Brahmans opened the road to all comers and the low caste people were allowed to walk at any time past the temple and past the Brahman quarters.

This change of policy had reverberations all through India and aided in removing similar restrictions against "untouchables" in other parts of India, and in strengthening the cause of caste reform.<sup>4</sup>

Still another successful non-violent struggle for economic justice took place in 1921 up in the Himalayas, north of Simla, in a little district called Kotgarh, with a population of only a few thousand. This district is on the highway between India and Tibet. As the scenery is of surpassing beauty and grandeur and some good hunting ground is not far beyond, the road was frequented by hunters and Government officials on vacations.

For years there had been a custom known as Begar, whereby any Government official or European could demand from any village headman

along the road the services of as many men as the traveller desired at any time, for as long a period as he wanted, for carrying luggage or messages at an utterly inadequate wage. Also the people could be required to drive their cows to the dak bungalow (a sort of inn) and supply as much milk as the traveller desired, also at ridiculously low prices. Thus farmers, many more than were needed, could be haled away from ploughing, or sowing or harvesting their crops or any other pressing business, to suit the whims of any European who was on the road.

One of the local Indian leaders protested but he was immediately jailed and the villagers were threatened with talk of machine-guns and the like. A Mr. S. E. Stokes, who was living on his estate in the district and operating an apple orchard, decided to organise the resistance against this injustice. He was in sympathy with Gandhiji's ideas and worked out the plan on non-violent lines. But Gandhi himself had no part in the struggle.

The district elected a small committee or "panchayat" to direct the movement of which Stokes was a leading member. In every village in the district all the people took an oath by their village gods to obey the orders of the committee and not to negotiate with the Government in this matter except through the committee.

The committee wrote out a long and carefully worded statement of the situation and its injustices and sent it to the District Commissioner. They requested hearings, but no notice was taken of it

by the Commissioner. Letters were written to all the responsible officials. Copies of all letters were retained by the committee. Still the Begar exactions continued. The committee then notified the Commissioner that if the exactions were not ended on a stated date the entire district would refuse all requests for service.

This brought action. The Commissioner came up from Simla and called a large meeting. He threatened and used every stratagem he could to cause division between the different villages and castes, so as to break down the authority of the committee. But every man who was asked a question declined to answer, except through the committee. Moreover they all refused to give food or any service to any Government official or European travelling on that section of the road.

In a few weeks the District Commissioner had acceded to every single demand of the villagers' committee, and had to post all along the road printed rules which strictly limited the amount of service that could be asked and specified the wages. The struggle lasted several months, without the least violence by the farmers, and the outcome was a complete success in the district.<sup>5</sup>

Another effective campaign of non-violent resistance took place in 1928 in Bardoli Taluka, a small district near Surat in Bombay Presidency, India. It was undertaken by the peasant inhabitants numbering about 88,000, in order to correct an economic injustice.

Contrary to the advice of the Joint Parliamentary Committee appointed to consider the

Government of India Bill, 1919, and contrary to a resolution of the Legislative Council of the Bombay Presidency in 1924, the Bombay Provincial Government in 1927 enhanced the rate of rural taxation very severely, nominally 22 per cent but in actual application in some instances over 60 per cent. The peasantry claimed that the investigation upon which the increase had been based was wholly inadequate, that the tax official's report was inaccurate and carelessly compiled, and that the increase was unwarranted and unjust. They asked the Governor to appoint an independent and impartial committee of inquiry to hold a thorough public investigation of all the evidence. The Government paid no attention to the request. Then, after giving due notice of their intentions, the peasants of the entire district refused to pay the tax. At the initiative and request of the local people the movement was led by Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, with the inspiration and advice of Gandhi. Mr. Patel held several large conferences with representatives from more than half the villages and of every class and religious community. He questioned these representatives very closely to estimate their determination and strength, and the cohesion and staying power of each and every village of the entire district. He explained in full detail the history of the case, their legal rights and the justice of their demands. He described clearly and fully to the villagers the possibilities and terrors of Government power. He told them that the struggle might be prolonged indefinitely. He gave them several days to think it all over, to

count the cost, and to discuss it amongst themselves. They returned to a still larger meeting and after further discussion resolved to enter upon the struggle.

For several years before there had been four or five social service centres in different parts of the district, headed by well-trained and disciplined workers. These were the beginnings of the organisation. Sixteen "camps" were located at convenient places through the district, and about 250 volunteer leaders were placed in these camps. In addition, there were volunteers in each village. These volunteers were to collect the news and information about the struggle in each village and forward it promptly every day to the headquarters of the movement. The volunteers also kept careful watch of the movements of all Government officials and warned the people of their coming and intentions. A news bulletin was printed every day and distributed to every village. Eventually, 10,000 copies a day were distributed in the district and 4,000 to subscribers outside. Mr. Patel's speeches were also distributed in pamphlet form. For the first month the volunteers spent much time getting signatures to a printed pledge by which the signatories promised to stick together under their leaders, to adhere to truth and to remain non-violent no matter what happened. Almost everyone signed the pledge. The women were organised as well as the men and took just as active a part as the men.

Meanwhile, Mr. Patel had extensive correspondence with the Government, trying in every way



to get the officials to see the justice and lawfulness of the peasants' claim and request, and to clarify the people's position. But the officials were adamant and the struggle began.

The Government did its best to compel the peasants to pay the tax. It tried flattery and bribery with some; fines, floggings and imprisonments of others. It tried to divide the communities against each other. The Government officers seized and sold goods of the peasantry. It caused much of the peasants' land to be forfeited, and sold over 1,400 acres of such land at auction. It brought in numbers of Pathans, Moslems of the North-West Frontier Province, who insulted and tried to terrorise the villagers who were mostly Hindus. There were but few waverers or weaklings. The oppression solidified the feeling of the people. The caste organisations were strengthened. A strong social boycott was maintained against all Government representatives and anyone who purchased distrained goods or forfeited lands. But Mr. Patel insisted that this boycott must not interfere with the supply of physical necessities to such people.

The publicity all over the country was enormous, and the sympathy of Indians of all kinds was almost universally with the peasants. The matter was discussed very fully in the Provincial legislature, and several members of the legislature resigned in protest against the Government's stand. The matter was discussed even in Parliament in London.

Through it all, the peasants stood firm, yet non-violent. After five and a half months, the

Government had to yield to practically everyone of the demands. The Governor appointed a committee of inquiry, agreed to restore all the land which had been sold or forfeited and reinstated the village officials who had resigned. When the committee of inquiry made its report, it "substantially justified" the original complaints of the peasants and recommended a tax increase less than that which had been assessed by the Government. I understand that the decision was put into effect.<sup>6</sup>

At first sight the General Strike in Great Britain in early May, 1926, seems to be a good modern example of non-violent resistance. Despite considerable provocation to violence by the Government, the striking rank and file of labour were, almost without exception, non-violent and orderly in action and speech, and throughout the entire nine days of the strike were astonishingly good-humoured, loyal, solid and staunch. They were full of enthusiasm and faith in their cause, about three million workers responding to the strike call.

Since the strike had been authorised in July, 1925, by the British Trades Union Congress, it was called and managed by the General Council of the Congress. Despite the fact that the members of the General Council knew that the Government and employing interests for over a year had made elaborate secret preparations to handle transport in case of such a strike, and that those labour leaders had known for at least a year that the strike was inevitable, they had made

no plan or arrangements for handling the complex problems that would arise. They did their utmost to avoid the strike.

From the beginning of the struggle the Government alleged that the strike was a revolutionary attempt to destroy the Government and the Constitution. The union leaders unanimously denied any such intent, and their utter lack of preparation substantiated their claim. Through its prior organisation and by the declaration of an emergency under an Act of Parliament, the Government rallied ample middle-class, partly trained personnel to run some railway trains and much motor transport for food and other necessities.

On the third day of the strike Sir John Simon, a distinguished barrister, declared in the House of Commons that the General Strike was illegal, that the funds of the unions, which took part in it were subject to attachment, that every striker who had been working under contract was liable for damages, and that every strike leader was liable in damages "to the uttermost farthing of his personal possessions." Five days later, in a judgment in a labour injunction suit Mr. Justice Astbury substantiated Sir John's opinion.

Apparently this and the accumulating effect of no plans and no co-ordination or centralisation of labour authority and organisation, and internal dissensions, proved too much for the General Council. On the following day, without consulting their rank and file or the miners in whose support the strike was called, the General Council called on the Prime Minister, made unconditional surrender,

and told him that they would immediately call off the strike. This they did. The striking workers were utterly dumbfounded, dismayed and resentful at being thus suddenly deserted by their leaders. The complete failure of the strike resulted in much victimisation of labour by employers and heavy losses of legal powers and self-confidence of the unions.

So while, on the part of the rank and file, the General Strike was almost entirely non-violent, as far as its leaders were concerned it was not true non-violent resistance. The leaders were not united in mind or will or really determined. It seems probable that the leaders were not willing to suffer loss of personal fortune or to go to jail for the principles of the strike. The union refusal to permit newspapers to function was a blow at the means of spreading truth and a refusal to show respect to their opponents or to the public, and incidentally a deprivation of information to most of the rank and file of labour. It prevented the formation of organised support for labour among the middle class. One of the miners' leaders revealed in his speeches much inaccuracy and some suppression of relevant facts and showed that his inner attitude was full of resentment, hatred and violence. There was also at the end some suppression of truth in the statements of the General Council. The resistance of the General Council was not real, but a reluctant bluff. And it did not contain the inner essentials of true non-violence.<sup>6a</sup>

In October, 1934, in a Hungarian town called Pecs, 1200 coal miners struck for more work and

the equivalent of about fourteen shillings pay a week. Owing to the depression the mines were working only three days a week, the men had suffered an 8 per cent wage cut the previous year, and their customary autumn bonus had turned out much less than they had expected.

According to the Reuter and Associated Press dispatches the miners struck while down in the pit, and refused to leave the mine, and said they would starve themselves to death there unless their demands were granted. After the strike had lasted two days, forty-four of the men were brought to the top, all suffering from hunger, thirst, and exhaustion, some unconscious, many raving mad, and several at the point of death. The Hungarian Government officially declared a "state of alarm" in the Pecs area and posted troops. Its attempts at intervention and negotiation with the miners were fruitless.

The miners sent up messages saying: "It is useless to negotiate further unless you give your word now that all our demands will be granted. Rather than suffer the slow pangs of death by starvation we will commit suicide by smothering ourselves." . . . "We are Hungarians. As such we hope that our countrymen may hear our cry of pity from the depths of the mine and from the depths of our hearts." . . . "We were soldiers in war and were protected then. We are now soldiers of production and claim protection likewise." They sent up a request for 345 coffins, and the message: "We are determined to die. Forget about us. Good-bye to the children."

At the entrance to the mines there were dramatic scenes as miners' wives hysterically battled with police in a vain attempt to enter the workings and join their husbands. Other women turned to the mine owners and insisted that they accede to the demands.

On the third day the company locked out over 3000 other miners, precipitating further bitterness among the 40,000 inhabitants of the area. The regiments of militia patrolling the streets were reinforced.

Charles Peyer, a Social-Democrat Deputy, who went down to the pit and tried to reason with the men, was reported to have said: "I have seen many bitter strikes, but I have never witnessed anything approaching the savage determination called forth in the Pecs strike."

General Janos Estergalyos, a Democratic-Socialist member of the Hungarian Parliament, and himself a former miner, went down in the pits to urge a settlement. When he came up he said that the things he had seen below — men tied to posts by their fellows to prevent their killing themselves, hunger, exhaustion, and mass insanity — constituted "the most terrible remembrance of my life." "Utterly exhausted, they are huddled down there in the heat, lying on the dirty, water-soaked bed of the mine with huge chunks of coal for pillows."

Finally, after the strike had lasted four days, the men were persuaded to accept a compromise settlement. Under it the Government agreed to purchase for the State Railways more coal from

this colliery and thus provide more working time for the men. It agreed also to investigate the wage reductions and to try to improve matters further. The company agreed to give a bonus in the autumn and another in the winter, and a guarantee of no discrimination against the strikers.

After a hundred hours below ground the striking miners emerged. One newspaper report said: "They came blinking into the bright sunlight, their clothes in tatters, many of them bare-footed, their faces gaunt and whiskery, to devour the food and gulp the water offered by relations waiting above. Some of the miners were brought out on stretchers. Others could not be moved and were left lying on the coal that had been their bed for more than five days. One hundred and ten were rushed to hospitals. . . . Hunger and thirst satisfied, the miners were quick to express dissatisfaction with the settlement that ended their strike. . . . Spokesmen for the miners said that they had accepted compromise terms offered by the company 'because we were demented, because we didn't know what we were doing.'"

About three and a half months later, 698 of the Pecs miners again went on a hunger strike down in the mines, demanding a 10 per cent wage increase. They captured as hostages forty Christian Socialist miners who had declined to join them. The management locked out the 4000 other miners employed in the colliery. Police prevented 3000 other miners from joining their comrades below the surface. The management at

first refused to negotiate while the miners stayed in the pits, and demanded that criminal action be taken against the miners' leaders. About seventy of the strikers left the pit after the first day, but the rest stood firm. After twenty-nine hours the management granted the full ten per cent wage demand and agreed that there should be no reprisals against the hunger strikers.<sup>a b</sup>

While some of the acts and the inner attitude of some of these miners were violent, their utter desperation, their voluntary suffering, unity, endurance, and the clearness and simplicity of the issue were so dramatic as to break through the ignorance and indifference of the world. It drew such world-wide attention to the dispute and the human needs of the miners that the owners were compelled to yield something, and eventually, at the second strike, the entire demand of the men.

In India there have been other instances of the successful use of organised mass non-violent resistance, as in the Ahmedabad mill strike in 1917 and the struggles against the Government at Kheda in 1916-17, at Borsad in 1923, and at Nagpur in 1927. All of these were conducted or supervised by Gandhi. The Kheda and Borsad struggles were in regard to taxation, and the Nagpur struggle involved the right to parade with an Indian Nationalist flag.

The Akali Sikhs in the Punjab waged a non-violent struggle for a period of years beginning in 1922 in behalf of their rights to control certain temple properties, in which they were partly



successful.<sup>7</sup> Gandhi had no hand in this, except to give encouragement.

Besides these there was the all-India non-co-operation struggle of 1921-22 which was unsuccessful in its immediate objective and yet immensely successful in awakening that country with its population of 350,000,000 people to desire freedom and to work concretely for its retainment. It profoundly altered the entire political situation in India, and thereby in the British Empire.<sup>8</sup> The story of that struggle and the still more momentous one in which India was from 1930 to 1934 engaged, would occupy more space than I can now command, even if we had the complete information and the historical perspective to describe it adequately.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, in order to provide a further basis for understanding, I will quote from press dispatches about two incidents in the struggle of 1930.

The New York *Telegram* carried a long dispatch from Mr. Webb Miller, special correspondent for the United Press. I quote only a part. I quote an American newspaper correspondent because I think that he is likely to have given a more accurate and objective and complete version than would have been given by a British newspaper correspondent.

"Dharasana Camp, Surat District, Bombay Presidency, May 22 (by mail) — Amazing scenes were witnessed yesterday when more than 2500 Gandhi 'volunteers' advanced against the salt pans here in defiance of police regulations.

"The official government version of the raid, issued today, stated that 'from Congress sources it is estimated

170 sustained injuries, but only three or four were seriously hurt.'

"About noon yesterday I visited the temporary hospital in the Congress camp and counted more than 200 injured lying in rows on the ground. I verified by personal observation that they were suffering injuries. To-day even the British owned newspapers give the total number at 320. . . .

"The scene at Dharasana during the raid was astonishing and baffling to the Western mind accustomed to see violence met by violence, to expect a blow to be returned and a fight result. During the morning I saw and heard hundreds of blows inflicted by the police, but saw not a single blow returned by the volunteers. So far as I could observe the volunteers implicitly obeyed Gandhi's creed of non-violence. In no case did I see a volunteer even raise an arm to deflect the blows from lathis. There were no outcries from the beaten Swarajists, only groans after they had submitted to their beating.

"Obviously it was the purpose of the volunteers to force the police to beat them. The police were placed in a difficult position by the refusal to disperse and the action of volunteers in continually pressing closer to the salt pans.

"Many times I saw the police vainly threaten the advancing volunteers with upraised lathis. Upon their determined refusal to recede the lathis would fall upon the unresisting body, the volunteer would fall back bleeding or bruised and be carried away on a stretcher. Waiting volunteers, on the outskirts of the pans, often rushed and congratulated the beaten volunteer as he was carried off the field. It was apparent that most of the injured gloried in their injuries. One leader was heard to say, 'These men have done a great work for India to-day. They are martyrs to the cause.'

"Much of the time the stolid native Surat police seemed reluctant to strike. It was noticeable that when the officers were occupied on other parts of the line the police slackened, only to resume threatening and beating when the officers appeared again. I saw many instances of the volunteers pleading with the police to join them.

"At other times the police became angered, whereupon the beating would be done earnestly. During several of these incidents I saw the native police deliberately kick lying or sitting volunteers who refused to disperse. And I saw several instances where the police viciously jabbed sitting volunteers in the abdomen with the butt end of their lathi. . . .

"Once I saw a native policeman in anger strike a half-submerged volunteer who had already been struck down into a ditch and was clinging to the edge of the bank. This incident caused great excitement among the volunteers who witnessed it.

"My reaction to the scenes was of revulsion akin to the emotion one feels when seeing a dumb animal beaten—partly anger, partly humiliation. It was to the description of these reactions that the Bombay censorship authorities objected among other things.

"In fairness to the authorities it must be emphasised that the Congress volunteers were breaking laws or attempting to break them, and that they repeatedly refused to disperse and attempted to pull down the entanglements with ropes, and that the volunteers seemed to glory in their injuries.

"In eighteen years of reporting in twenty-two countries, during which I have witnessed innumerable civil disturbances, riots, street fights and rebellions, I have never witnessed such harrowing scenes as at Dharasana. The Western mind can grasp violence returned by violence, can understand a fight, but is, I found, perplexed

and baffled by the sight of men advancing coldly and deliberately and submitting to beating without attempting defence. Sometimes the scenes were so painful that I had to turn away momentarily.

"One surprising feature was the discipline of the volunteers. It seemed they were thoroughly imbued with the Gandhi's non-violence creed, and the leaders constantly stood in front of the ranks imploring them to remember that Gandhi's soul was with them."

The Chicago *Daily News* published the following account from Mr. Negley Farson, its special correspondent in India :

"Bombay, June 21 — Heroic, bearded Sikhs, several with blood dripping from their mouths, refusing to move or even to draw their 'kirpans' (sacred swords) to defend themselves from the shower of lathi blows—

"Hindu women and girls dressed in orange robes of sacrifice, flinging themselves on the bridles of horses and imploring mounted police not to strike male Congress volunteers, as they were Hindus themselves—

"Stretcher bearers waiting beside little islands of prostrate unflinching, immovable Satyagrahis, who had flung themselves on the ground grouped about their women upholding the flag of Swaraj—

"These were the scenes on the Maidan Esplanade, Bombay's splendid sea-front park, where the six-day deadlock between police and Mahatma Gandhi's followers has broken out in a bewildering, brutal, and stupid, yet heroic spectacle.

"The scene opened at six o'clock outside the Esplanade. At the police station facing the park some hundreds of yellow turbanned blue-clad, bare-legged Mahratti policemen were leaning on their dreaded bamboo lathis under the command of a score of English police sergeants in topees and cotton drill.

"At 6-45, marching in good formation down the tree-lined pleasant boulevard, came the first detachment of volunteers. This was the ambulance unit, mostly boys and young doctors, dressed in khaki with Red Cross badges on their arms. They marched past the waiting police without a glance to the south side of the playing field, where they parked their ambulances and brought out their stretchers.

"It was like nurses and orderlies preparing an operating theatre.

"At 7 o'clock began to come processions of white-robed volunteers bearing red, green and white banners, singing 'We will take Swaraj—India Our Motherland.' At the head of each walked a tiny detachment of women and girls dressed in orange robes, many garlanded with jasmine. They marched steadily on past the policemen and actually lined up behind the stretchers.

"They waited there in a long front down the boulevard for the order to march on the field.

"I shall not forget the scenes which followed. Dark-faced Mahratti policemen in their yellow turbans marched along in column led by English sergeants across the field toward the waiting crowd. As they neared it the police went faster and faster. The Hindus, who may be willing to die but dread physical pain, watched them approach with frightened eyes. Then the police broke into a charge.

"Many Hindus at once ran, fleeing down the streets—but most stood stock still.

"Crash! Whack! Whack! Whack! At last the crowd broke. Only the orange-clad women were left standing beside the prostrate figures of crumpled men. Congress volunteer ambulances clanging bells, stretcher bearers running helter-skelter across the field. Whack! Whack! Whack!

"A minute's lull and then, with flags flying another column of volunteers marched on to the vast green field. A column of Mahrattas marched to meet them. They clashed—a clash, a rattle, dull thuds, then the faint-hearted ran and again there was the spectacle of the green field dotted with a line of fallen bodies and again the same islands of orange-clad Hindu women holding up the flags of Swaraj.

"And here in the centre of one of these islands sat a little knot of men, their heads bowed, submitting to a rain of lathi blows—refusing to move until on a stretcher and completely laid out. And there were stretchers within two feet of the suffering men, waiting for them.

"Then came a band of fifty Sikhs—and a heroic scene. The Sikhs, as you know, are a fierce fighting brotherhood. As soon as he can raise one, every man wears a beard which he curls around a cord or ties to his ears. The Sikhs also wear their hair long like women and curl it in a topknot under their turbans. These Sikhs were Akalis of a fanatic religious sect. They wore the kirpan, or sacred sword.

"With them were fifteen of their young girls and women. The women also wore sacred swords, and although dressed in orange saris like Hindu women, they wore little cotton trousers which reached to their tiny, sandalled feet. They were pretty girls and not so loud voiced and excited as the Hindu ladies. They simply smiled—as if they liked danger—which they do.

"One of them had her little baby, which she wanted to hold up before the police to dare them to come on. She laughed at me when my remark was translated that it was terrible to drag a child into this.

"Coming from all districts as representatives of the fighting Punjab, these Sikhs swore they would not draw

their kirpans to defend themselves, but they would not leave the field. They did not.

"'Never, never, never!' they cried, to the terrific delight of their Hindu brothers, in Swaraj. 'We will never retreat. We will die, we will!' The police hesitated before hitting the Sikhs. They asked their women would they not please, please, leave the field.

"'No!' said the women, 'we will die with our men.'

"Mounted Indian policemen who had been galloping across the field, whacking heads indiscriminately, came to a halt when they faced the little cluster of blue Akali turbans on the slender Sikh men.

"'The Sikhs are brave men—how can we hit them?' It was not fear, but respect.

"But the police, determined to try to clear the field, at last rushed around the Sikh women and began to hit the men. I stood within five feet of a Sikh leader as he took the lathi blows. He was a short, heavily muscled man.

"The blows came—he stood straight. His turban was knocked off. The long black hair was bared with the round topknot. He closed his eyes as the blows fell—until at last he swayed and fell to the ground.

"No other Sikhs had tried to shield him, but now, shouting their defiance, they wiped away the blood streaming from his mouth. Hysterical Hindus rushed to him, bearing cakes of ice to rub the contusions over his eyes. The Sikh gave me a smile—and stood for more.

"And then the police threw up their hands. 'You can't go on hitting a blighter when he stands up to you like that.'"

In addition to the foregoing examples, we have witnessed in China immensely effective economic boycotts against foreign goods.<sup>9a</sup> These were predominantly non-violent in outward form, but to outsiders, at least, the principle of non-violence seemed to be not so much a matter of conscious choice

as of social habit. Chinese histories also tell us that the Chinese people have often used non-violent resistance toward their own rulers. The Jews have also been non-violent for the last 1900 years.

The principle of non-violent resistance had already been conceived and applied independently by numerous seers and courageous people in many different countries. Among them were Lao Tsu, Confucius, Buddha, the Jain Tirthankaras, Jesus Christ, St. Francis of Assisi, George Fox, Leo Tolstoi and many others too numerous to mention. But Gandhi is the outstanding person in modern times who has worked out the theory and applied it to mass movements in organised corporate fashion, and proved the validity of this extension by actual successful campaigns in numerous difficult situations.

Is non-violent resistance only for use by intellectuals, saints or ascetics? Is it adapted only to Oriental psychology and modes of thinking, feeling, acting and living? Not at all. Its record shows successful use by illiterate peasants, industrial workers, and city-bred intellectuals, by saints and the ordinary run of mankind; rich men and poor, property owners and homeless vagabonds, by meat eaters and vegetarians, Europeans, Americans, Negroes, Chinese, Japanese and Indians, by the religiously minded and those not so accounted. It has been used successfully in political, economic and social conflicts. It has been used by individuals and by groups, both large and small.<sup>10</sup>

Knowing that non-violent resistance has actually been used with success, at least in certain instances, let us now try to understand how and why it works.



## CHAPTER II

### MORAL JIU-JITSU

Most people hitherto have been sceptical of non-violent resistance simply because they could not understand how it could possibly work. They might be less sceptical if they could once see how the method could operate and be effective. Let us then try to understand first how non-violent resistance works. Later we may estimate the probabilities of its success in general use. Modern psychology enables us to understand the emotional, mental and moral mechanisms involved. So let us analyse the matter and pay attention to one part of the problem at a time. We will consider first its operation by individuals and later its use by organised groups of people.

If one man attacks another with physical violence and the victim hits back, the violent response gives the attacker a certain reassurance and moral support. It shows that the victim's scale of moral values in regard to violence as a mode of settling questions is the same as that of the attacker. A mere display of either fear or anger by the victim is sufficient to have this effect. It makes the attacker sure of his own savoir-faire, of his choice of methods, of his knowledge of human nature and hence of his opponent. He can rely on the victim's reacting in a definite way. The attacker's morale is sustained, his sense of values is vindicated. His

confidence in his general method of dealing with his opponent is reassured.

But suppose the assailant attacks with physical violence a different sort of person. The attitude of this new opponent is fearless, calm, steady, and because of a different belief, training or experience he has much self-control. He does not respond to the attacker's violence with counter-violence. Instead, he accepts the blows with good-tempered reasoning, stating his belief as to the truth of the matter in dispute, asking for an examination of both sides of the dispute, and stating his readiness to abide by the truth. He offers resistance, but only in moral terms. He states his readiness to prove his sincerity by his own suffering rather than by imposing suffering on the assailant, through violence. He accepts blow after blow, showing no signs of fear or shrinking or resentment, keeping steadily good-humoured and kindly in look of eye, tone of voice, and posture of body and arms. To violence he opposes non-violent resistance.

The assailant's first thought may be that the opponent is afraid of him, is a coward, ready to give way and acknowledge defeat. But the opponent's look and posture show not fear but courage. His steady resistance of will reveals no subservience. His unflinching endurance of pain is startling.<sup>1</sup>

At such an unusual and unexpected reaction the assailant will be surprised. If at first he was inclined to be scornful or contemptuous of the victim as a coward, those feelings rapidly become

displaced by curiosity and wonder. As the psychologist Shand points out, "Wonder tends to exclude Repugnance, Disgust and Contempt in relation to its object."<sup>2</sup>

Thus non-violent resistance acts as a sort of moral jiu-jitsu. The non-violence and good will of the victim act like the lack of physical opposition by the user of physical jiu-jitsu, to cause the attacker to lose his moral balance. He suddenly and unexpectedly loses the moral support which the usual violent resistance of most victims would render him. He plunges forward, as it were, into a new world of values. He feels insecure because of the novelty of the situation and his ignorance of how to handle it. He loses his poise and self-confidence. The victim not only lets the attacker come, but, as it were, pulls him forward by kindness, generosity and voluntary suffering, so that the attacker quite loses his moral balance. The user of non-violent resistance, knowing what he is doing and having a more creative purpose and perhaps a clearer sense of ultimate values than the other, retains his moral balance. He uses the leverage of a superior wisdom to subdue the rough direct force or physical strength of his opponent.<sup>3</sup>

Another way to state it is that between two persons in physically violent combat there may appear to be complete disagreement, but in reality they conduct their fight on the basis of a strong fundamental agreement that violence is a sound mode of procedure. Hence if one of the parties eliminates that basic agreement and announces by

his actions that he has abandoned the method used generally by his forefathers back almost to the beginning of animal life—no wonder that the other is startled and uncertain. His animal instincts no longer tell him instantly what to do. He feels that he has plunged into a new world. Here is something as new, apparently, as an airplane to an Eskimo.

Just as in the case of wrestling jiu-jitsu, the violence itself helps to overthrow its user. There are several reasons for this, in addition to the element of surprise.

The first is that prolonged anger is very exhausting. Undoubtedly anger at first gives an access of muscular and sometimes mental energy.<sup>4</sup> But it also consumes energy very rapidly, and if long sustained it may completely exhaust the person feeling it.<sup>5</sup>

Secondly, part of the energy of the violent assailant is reverted and used up against himself. The steadfast appeals of an individual non-violent resister work in the personality of the violent attacker, arousing the latter's more decent and kindly motives and putting them in conflict with his fighting, aggressive instincts. Thus the attacker's personality is divided. The appeals, like commercial advertising, may require considerable repetition before they are effective, but the result is pretty sure. They act on the psychological principle of "summation of stimuli".<sup>6</sup>

I am not assuming here, with Rousseau, that every person is inherently good at the beginning of their lives—that is, predominantly good. I am

merely assuming, on the basis of what seems sound psychological and historical evidence<sup>6a</sup> that, except for a few congenital mental defectives and incorrigible desperate convicts, every person has in them at least some tiny spark or potentiality of goodness or of adaptability to the best community moral standards, no matter how encrusted that potentiality may be with habitual pride, prejudice, hardness, crudeness, callousness, cruelty, or criminality. I assume that because that potentiality for goodness is in a living creature, it also is living and therefore subject to the laws of stimulus and response, and hence capable of growth until it is as strong or even stronger than the harmful living factors in that person.

The violent assailant realises that he made a mistake at first in thinking that his opponent was a coward. He is bothered by the thought that he may have made or might in the future make another mistake about this unusual opponent, and that another mistake might be more embarrassing. He therefore becomes more cautious.

If there are onlookers, the assailant soon loses still more poise. Instinctively he dramatises himself before them and becomes more aware of his position. With the audience as a sort of mirror, he realises the contrast between his own conduct and that of the victim. In relation to the onlookers, the attacker with his violence perhaps begins to feel a little excessive and undignified—even a little ineffective; and by contrast with the victim, less generous and in fact brutal. He realises that the onlookers noted his mistake in

regard to the nature of his adversary. He senses a lessening of respect from the crowd. He realises he has lost prestige. He somewhat loses his inner self-respect—has a sense of inferiority. He of course does not want to acknowledge it, but his feelings betray themselves in hesitance or decreasing firmness of manner, speech or glance. The onlookers perceive it, and he himself senses a loss of public support.

If anyone feels inclined to doubt such a reaction of the outsiders against the assailant's violence, let him recall what happens in time of a labour strike if any striker loses his temper and destroys property or attacks any person. Immediately the employers blazon the news in the press and try to make it appear that all the strikers are men of violence and that public safety is threatened. They play on the fears of the public and then persuade the mayor to call out extra police or soldiers. Public opinion, swayed by the press, reacts strongly against the strikers and their cause is lost. Violence opposed not by violence but by courageous non-violence, if it is in the open, is sure sooner or later to react against the attacker. The burden of justification rests heavily on the violent one and the presumption is against him.<sup>7</sup>

The disadvantage of the attacker increases by reason of a further loss of inner assurance. He becomes increasingly aware that the victim's scale of values is strangely different from his own and from most people's. He dimly realises that the courage of the non-violent opponent is higher than mere physical bravery or recklessness;—that it is

somehow a clearer and stronger realisation of human nature or perhaps of some ultimate powers or realities in the background of life. He is surprised into an uncertainty of his own valuations and methods.

A final disadvantage and continuing cause of relative weakness in the attacker is that he is in a very suggestible and receptive state of mind and emotion, — more so than the non-violent resister. The reasons for this are several. The emotion of the struggle of course tends to make both parties suggestible.<sup>8</sup> But the surprising conduct and attitude of the victim presents suddenly a new idea to the attacker.<sup>9</sup> “The effect of surprise is to make us attend to the event that surprises us.—Wonder tends to arrest and detain the attention on the thing which excites it.”<sup>10</sup> The struggle is a process of mutual interacting influence. As this process proceeds there is a cumulative effect of the several disabilities of the violent assailant as above described, together with advantages of the non-violent opponent which we are about to set forth. This cumulative effect acts upon the subconsciousness and imagination of the attacker to keep him more suggestible than the non-violent resister. Thus the violent assailant has less chance, of influencing the opponent than the opponent has of influencing him.

So much for the factors that tend to upset the moral balance of the violent assailant and keep him off balance and at a disadvantage. What are the advantages of the non-violent resister ?

In this moral jiu-jitsu the non-violent person has superior position, poise and power for many reasons. Firstly, he has taken the moral initiative. His conduct is new and unexpected and unpredictable by the conservatively acting user of violence. Secondly, he is not surprised. He knows, by reasoning or by intuition and faith, what is really taking place in such a struggle, and how to control the process. Thirdly, his self-control and lack of anger conserves his energy. Moreover, he is not in as suggestible a condition as the violent assailant.

He has still another element of superior power,—his proved sincerity and conviction. Deep conviction is a great power. Some writer has said : "To be willing to suffer and die for a cause is an incontestible proof of sincere belief, and perhaps in most cases the only incontestible proof." Non-violence coupled with such suffering is still further proof of sincerity. Voluntary suffering is probably also a sure sign that the whole being of the sufferer,—body, mind, will and spirit, is integrated and at work with single purpose. This means that immense and unpredictable resources of energy are in action and ready to endure. The sight and realisation of this is profoundly impressive and moving.

Again, the refusal of the victim to use violence is a strong indication of his respect for the personality and moral integrity of the assailant. From childhood we all tend to like people who show respect for our personality. This tendency



operates even between the parties to a conflict. Such respect for the personality of the opponent was one of the important elements in the practice of mediæval European chivalry, and added much to the charm and power of that code. Respect for personality is a pre-requisite for real freedom and fine human association. It is proof of unselfishness and of moral poise and understanding. If, as at least one philosopher and two distinguished psychologists believe,<sup>10a</sup> the self-regarding sentiment is the foundation of all the higher morality, a demonstration of respect for personality exercises a much deeper and more far-reaching influence than is generally realised. This respect gradually tends to put the violent attacker to shame and to enhance the respect of any onlookers toward the gentle resister.

Both opponents feel a desire and need for the approbation of others. Social approval and opprobrium are very strong forces. They act through and are a part of the herd or gregarious instinct which is so powerful in mankind.<sup>11</sup> The tremendous pressure of social approval or dislike is well brought out in W. Trotter's *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War*.<sup>12</sup> Competent observers have stated that fear of social disapproval was the strongest of all the motives to enlistment in the armies in the World War.<sup>13</sup> The desire for outside approval was strikingly shown by the great efforts devoted to propaganda by all the parties of the World War. Again, it is demonstrated in labour strikes and lockouts, in which both parties are at great pains to win

public support and sympathy. All politicians recognise the force of public opinion.

For these reasons, in a struggle between a violent person and a non-violent resister, if there are any onlookers or a public who hear of the conflict, the non-violent resister gains a very strong advantage from their reaction. When the public see the gentle person's courage and fortitude, note his generosity and good will toward the attacker, and hear his repeated offers to settle the matter fairly and peaceably and in the open, they are filled with surprise, curiosity and wonder. If they have been hostile to the victim before, they at least pause to think. His good humour, fairness and kindness arouse confidence. Sooner or later his conduct wins public sympathy, admiration, and support, and also the respect of the violent opponent himself. Gandhi's chivalrous and generous conduct toward the South African Government when it was threatened by a railway strike is an instance of this sort. Once the respect of the opponent has been secured, a long step has been taken toward a satisfactory solution of the controversy, no matter whether it be public or private.

But what is the psychology of the affair if the assailant is filled with the sort of cruelty or greed, pride, bigotry, or hardness that seems to grow on what it feeds on?

Cruelty is a complex of fear, anger and pride.<sup>14</sup> Greed is really a desire for security and completion, though badly mistaken as to method, means and material. In a sense it is a fear of lack.

Pride is another mistaken sense of divisiveness. Bigotry is an obstinate narrow religious pride.

In all such instances the tendency of non-violent resistance is to remove fear, anger and any foreboding or dread of loss or sense of separateness,<sup>15</sup> and to give instead a feeling of security, unity, sympathy and good will. Inasmuch as fear and anger are elements of cruelty, the removal of fear and anger will tend to reduce cruelty. Shand tells us<sup>16</sup> that "wonder tends to exclude Repugnance, Disgust and Contempt in relation to its object." In so far as these may be elements involved in pride, the wonder evoked by the conduct of the non-violent person also tends to reduce pride and hence to reduce cruelty. In so far as cruelty is due to a desire for power or for feeling superior, the ability of non-violent resistance to win for its user the support of the outside public presently makes the cruel person realise that that sort of power is disadvantageous and that perhaps he is not so superior as he had previously supposed. Even aside from its effect on the spectators, non-violent resistance gradually creates even in the violent opponent a partial realisation of human unity and a different idea of what kind of power is desirable. To the extent that cruelty may be due to a defect in the cruel person's intelligence or imagination or to dullness of observation, the dramatic scenes of prolonged non-violent resistance act to stimulate his intelligence and powers of observation, and hence to reduce his cruelty. Where cruelty is of the perverted kind known as sadism, in which there is aggression and desire for

power, and resentment because of earlier sexual repressions, frustrations, and humiliations, non-violent resistance alters that desire for power as above described, and by the respect shown for the personality of the cruel attacker, assuages his sense of humiliation and helps to find a way out of his sense of frustration, and sublimates and transforms the other perverted elements. If avarice, ambition, or desire for revenge are factors in a particular case of cruelty, these also are reduced by prolonged non-violent resistance. The removal of fear or of sense of separateness tends to reduce greed and hardness.

The attacker gradually loses divisive emotions or sentiments in relation to the victim,—fear, anger, hatred, indignation, pride, vanity, scorn, contempt, disdain, disgust, anxiety, worry, apprehension. It is not that such feelings are balked or suppressed;—they merely no longer have a cause or basis.

The art of jiu-jitsu is based on a knowledge of balance and how to disturb it. In a struggle of moral jiu-jitsu the retention of moral balance seems to depend upon the qualities of one's relationship to moral truth. Hence part of the superior power of the non-violent resister seems to lie in the nature of his character.

He must have primarily that disposition best known as love;—an interest in people so deep, and determined, and lasting as to be creative; a profound knowledge of or faith in the ultimate possibilities of human nature; a courage based

upon a conscious or subconscious realisation of the underlying unity of all life and eternal values or eternal life of the human spirit; a strong and deep desire for and love of truth; and a humility which is not cringing or self-deprecatory or timid, but rather a true sense of proportion in regard to people, things, qualities and ultimate values. These human traits of love, faith, courage, honesty and humility exist in greater or less strength in *every* person. By self-training and discipline they can be developed sufficiently to make a good non-violent 'soldier' out of average human material. Of course, leaders of a non-violent movement require these qualities to an unusual degree, just as generals of military armies require military qualities developed to a higher degree than those of the common soldier.

Not only is love the most important of all these qualities of the non-violent person; it may almost be considered the origin of all the others. If the name "love" in such a context seems too impossible or sentimental, call it a sort of intelligence or knowledge.<sup>17</sup> This love must be strong and clear-sighted, not mawkish or sentimental. It does not state or hint that it is going to "do good to" the other person nor does it make a parade of itself. It must be patient and full of insight and understanding and imagination. It must be enduring, kind and unselfish. It is wonderful but it is not super-human or exceedingly rare. We have all seen such love in many mothers of all classes, nations and races, also in the best teachers. Its creativeness in these instances is well known.

If through love for your enemy you can create in him respect or admiration for you, this provides the best possible means by which your new idea or suggestion to him will become an auto-suggestion within him, and it will also help nourish that auto-suggestion.

Anger, as well as love, can be creative, for both are expressions or modes of energy. But love contains more energy and endurance than anger. Love involves the very principle and essence of continuity of life itself. If considered as an instrument, it can be more efficiently and effectively wielded, has better aim, has a better fulcrum or point of vantage, than anger. Love gains a stronger and more lasting approval from the rest of mankind. The probabilities in favour of its winning over anger in the long run are strong.

But if one party to a contest cannot develop toward the conflict or toward his opponent an attitude that is creative or akin to love, he should certainly be honest and true to himself.<sup>18</sup> As long as men have uncontrollable anger or enmity in their feelings it is better to express it honestly and courageously than to be hypocritical and refuse to fight out of cowardice. Christ, searching for a change in men more profound and important than immediate external acts, told them to get rid of anger and greed, knowing that if this took place, war would disappear.

Courageous violence, to try to prevent or stop a wrong, is better than cowardly acquiescence. Cowardice is more harmful morally than violence. The inner attitude is more important than the

outer act, though it is vitally important always to be true to oneself, to make one's outer conduct a true reflection and expression of one's inner state. Fear develops out of an assumption of relative weakness. Since all men have the innate possibility of moral strength, to be afraid is really a denial of one's potential moral powers and is therefore very harmful. Violence and anger at least show faith in one's own moral powers and thus provide at least a basis for further growth. He who refrains from fighting because he is afraid, really hates his opponent in his heart and wishes that circumstances would change so that he could hurt or destroy his opponent. The energy of his hate is present but suppressed. If one has not the special courage or discipline or conviction to resist wrong or violence without counter-violence, then I agree with Gandhi that it is better to be violent than to be cowardly.<sup>19</sup> But he who has the courage to fight and yet refrains, is the true non-violent resister. Because the coward fears, he cannot love, and if he cannot love he cannot be wholly successful in non-violent resistance. He cannot use this moral jiu-jitsu completely effectively.

Refraining from outward violent acts through fearless self-control of anger is better than acting violently; but getting rid of anger is best of all, and the only sure way. True non-violent resistance, where the outer act is an expression of inner attitude, gradually creates among all beholders an awareness of essential human unity. But if the inner condition is one of anger or hate,

cowardly non-violence of deed is inconsistent with the inner condition, and this cowardly inconsistency or insincerity is soon detected by others and perhaps openly called hypocrisy; and this cowardly inconsistency makes impossible any considerable increase in the awareness of essential unity.

As to the outcome of a struggle waged by non-violence, we must understand one point thoroughly. The aim of the non-violent resister is not to injure, or crush and humiliate his opponent, or to "break his will", as in a violent fight. The aim is to convert the opponent, to change his understanding and his sense of values so that he will join wholeheartedly with the resister in seeking a settlement truly amicable and truly satisfying to both sides. The non-violent resister seeks a solution under which both parties can have complete self-respect and mutual respect; a settlement that will implement the new desires and full energies of both parties. The non-violent resister seeks to help the violent attacker re-establish his moral balance on a level higher and more secure than that from which he first launched his violent attack. The method withdraws a mistaken support not in order to harm the opponent, but to help both parties into a more secure, creative, happy, and truthful relationship.<sup>20</sup> That relationship is based upon their several and joint awareness of their essential human unity. The realisation of that unity in thought, feeling and action is the aim of the non-violent resister.



## CHAPTER III

### WHAT HAPPENS

WHAT more is there about the subtle interplay of forces operating during the struggle? For purposes of explanation, we may somewhat arbitrarily analyse and consider these forces in two groups,—those which are mainly unconscious and those which are mainly conscious. In operation they are all inextricably mingled, but our minds can understand the matter better by discussing the processes as if they were separate.

One of these processes is what psychologists call suggestion. The surprising conduct of the non-violent resister presents suddenly to the violent assailant the new ideas that the dispute can be settled calmly and amicably; that calm conduct is more dignified, more decent, more efficient, more worthy of respect than violence; that there are some values and imponderable forces in the world perhaps even more powerful and desirable than physical force; that the position of the attacker is much less favourable than he at first thought; that perhaps the two parties are not enemies after all.

The attacker is at the moment in a most receptive and suggestible state, as we pointed out in the previous chapter. He is excited, and, because of his wonder, his attention is spontaneously concentrated on these new ideas. Under such conditions suggestion acts most potently.

"Suggestion is essentially a process of the unconscious."<sup>1</sup> Sensitiveness to folk environment is instinctive and therefore subconscious.<sup>2</sup>

It is well known that subconscious suggestions are both powerful and lasting. The spectacle of bravely endured suffering along with all the surprises and uncertainty of the situation creates emotion in the attacker. If there is a crowd present, it tends to heighten his suggestibility. These suggestions tend to change his inner attitude.

Or we may state it thus. If you would conquer another man, do it not by outside resistance but by creating inside his own personality an impulse too strong for his previous tendency. Reinforce your suggestion by making it auto-suggestion in him, so that it lives by his energy instead of by yours. And yet that new impulse is not to conflict directly with his former urge, but to divert and blend with it and absorb it, so as to use the full psychological energy of both impulses. That is the wisest psychological dynamics and moral strategy.

The new ideas in the astonishing situation tend strongly to stimulate the attacker's imagination. The Nancy school of psychologists maintains that imagination and suggestion together are much stronger than conscious will power, so that if a person consciously wills and thinks that he desires to accomplish a given purpose but all the while his imagination is filled with ideas of his inability to accomplish it or of some contrary desire, then he will surely fail in the task. Baudouin states it as the "Law of Reversed Effort". He says: "When

the will and imagination are at war the imagination *invariably* gains the day.”<sup>3</sup>

If this be so, it may be that the ideas thus suggested to the attacker gradually capture his imagination and conquer his will to defeat the victim by violence. The Freudians show how much more powerful is a repressed wish than an opposing conscious desire. Possibly a suggestion acting imaginatively in the subconsciousness is as powerful as a repressed wish.

Undoubtedly the sight of another person voluntarily undergoing suffering for a belief or ideal moves the assailant and beholders alike and tends to change their hearts and make them all feel kinship with the sufferer.

There are perhaps two reasons for this. One is as follows. Our ancestors from the dawn of life have suffered pain and deprivation, so extensively and so intensely in the long course of evolution, that suffering is very familiar to our entire nervous system. Indeed, it is almost habitual to the human species. Probably the nervous system is as much or more responsive or sensitive to all stimuli associated with pain than to any other type of stimulus. Hence the sight of suffering, in all probability, causes an involuntary sympathetic response in the nervous system of the beholder, especially in the autonomic nervous system. The response may be inhibited or crusted over by custom, prejudice or hostile emotions, but it is there, nevertheless, at least in the subconsciousness. Therefore, the spectacle of a non-violent resister submitting himself voluntarily to bodily

suffering for the sake of his cause would rouse in the onlooker sympathetic emotion and a sense of kinship. If the sight were prolonged or frequently repeated, the effect would be all the stronger. There seems to be a social as well as an individual subconsciousness, through which such feelings would function.<sup>4</sup>

Again, everyone wants, in his heart, to be strong and brave. Every child has dreamed and fancied itself heroic. Therefore, when we see suffering valiantly endured, we admire the sufferer, we wonder if we could do as well, and perhaps we even unconsciously identify ourselves with him. Such processes of the imagination tend to produce a feeling of sympathy.

Thus the voluntary, long-sustained, steady, disciplined suffering of a non-violent resister acts as a powerful suggestion of human unity.

Another process affecting the attacker is unconscious imitation. Imitation is an exceedingly powerful force by which we learn to talk and walk, learn skilled manual trades, pick up gestures and postures of our elders, follow our leaders,—a limitless range of conduct. It lasts throughout life. Rivers tells us that "Unwitting imitation is the most effective."<sup>5</sup>

Rose remarks<sup>6</sup> that "Motor impulses appear to diffuse themselves with great facility," citing the infectiousness of marching rhythm, yawning, gestures, and modes of speech. Also that "The feelings are more contagious than the appetites."... "Emotions spread more rapidly than ideas or

opinions." . . . "Volitions are extremely communicable."

Kempf,<sup>7</sup> after giving numerous examples of conscious and unconscious imitation, says: "The influence of associates upon the personality is a physiological mechanism and occurs unconsciously, or at least begins unconsciously." Later<sup>8</sup> he partially adopts Holt's theory that "thought is latent course of action with regard to environment," that is to say "the preceding labile interplay of motor settings." This suggests the reason why pupils learn better by personal discussion with the teacher than by reading a book. They can imitate unconsciously the postures, tonus and play of motor settings of the teacher and thus follow and understand the thought more clearly and surely. Such a mode of influence would be both subtle and powerful. Similarly when an attacker watches his victim and comes to respect his courage, be it ever so little, he begins unconsciously to imitate him, and hence the attacker's wrath tends to subside. Whatever truth there may be in the James-Lange theory of the emotions would add weight to this conjecture. For reasons already considered, the peaceful contestant is less apt to be influenced by suggestion and imitation, to adopt violence, than the violent person to be influenced toward non-violence.

If one doubts the existence of imitation in time of conflict, let him remember the words of the great theorist of war, von Clausewitz: "War is a constant case of reciprocal action, the effects of which are mutual."<sup>9</sup> Again, Lieut.-General von

Caemmerer, in his *Development of Strategical Science*,<sup>10</sup> says: "Every action in war is saturated with mental forces and effects. . . . War is a constant reciprocal effect of action of both parties."<sup>11</sup> This is true also of a conflict between individuals.

This factor of imitation also helps to explain the futility of violence as a means of solving conflicts. If A attacks B, and B responds with violence, while part of B's response is purely instinctive and defensive, part of it also is unconscious imitation of A. Then the two act like front and back logs in a fire. The heat of one log is reflected across to the other, which then fires up and sends more heat to the first. The heat is reflected back and forth, steadily increasing and consuming the material (latent energy) of the wood. So anger, resentment, hatred and revenge, in the process of reciprocal imitative violence, mount higher and enter into more and more of the personalities of the combatants, consuming all their energies, to the point of utter exhaustion or destruction.<sup>12</sup>

Non-violent resistance is in effect a sort of language, a means of communicating feelings and ideas. It uses the expression of the face, glances of the eye, tones, intensities and modulations of the voice, movements and postures of the limbs and body,—just as in all personal communication. In prolonged situations it may also use writing and printing. Its means of expression are as ample as those of any language. Even in situations where words can be used little or not at

all, conduct alone may be a rapid, accurate, and efficient means of communication.<sup>13</sup>

Nevertheless, the ideas to be conveyed are so unusual that the understanding of them by the recipient may be slow or incomplete. At first and perhaps for some time, the understanding will be more emotional than intellectual. Therefore, the success of the communication does not depend upon the extent of formal or book education of either party to the conflict. The idea itself is no more complex than that of war, for war involves a discipline of fear, and non-violent resistance involves a discipline of anger; and both anger and fear are elemental and similar emotions. There is both an emotional and an intellectual element to be transmitted,—both feelings and ideas. There will be difficulties arising from the unusualness of the feelings and ideas, but no more difficulties arising from inadequacy of means than in the case of any other sort of language.<sup>14</sup>

Another largely unconscious process at work is the creative power of trust and expectation evinced by the non-violent resister. He tries to give concrete and repeated evidence of his trust in the decency and reasonableness of the violent attacker, and of his expectation that this fine spirit, perhaps only latent at the start, will grow stronger until it informs, controls, and changes the assailant into non-violent and kindly ways. This belief gives the resister hope, and he acts and holds himself in an attitude of expectancy and trust. Trust, like its grosser form of financial credit, is subtly but powerfully creative. An example of this firm attitude of

expectancy and hope was shown by Gandhi in going to the second Round Table Conference at London in 1931. Although no results of it were then visible in the British Government, there is evidence of considerable effect upon numerous persons who met Gandhi privately at that time.<sup>15</sup>

Modern psychologists tell us that much the greater part of our mind is subconscious. If the total mind may be likened to an iceberg floating in the water, one-tenth of whose bulk is above the surface and nine-tenths below the surface of the water, the importance of the conscious mind resembles the small part above the level of the water; the subconscious mind is equivalent to the greater bulk under the water. If this analogy be true, it is clear that forces or processes which operate upon a person's subconsciousness,—whether the process be one of suggestion, imagination-stimulus, imitation, communication, or trust,—would have a greater effect than those which operate only or chiefly upon the conscious mind and conscious feelings. This would presumably hold true of a group as well as of an individual. The analogy may be carried further. When an iceberg drifts into warm waters the submerged part melts and melts, with perhaps only slight changes visible above the surface. But after the melting underneath has gone far enough, sometimes the entire iceberg suddenly turns over and thereafter looks entirely different. So sometimes sudden reversals come about among people as a result of forces acting a long time on the subconsciousness. It is not a miracle, but merely an instance of the operation



of forces which we usually ignore. The analogy would tend to explain in part some of the impressive results of Gandhi's march to the sea in 1930 to make salt in defiance of the British Government.

The total effect of these psychological processes taking place in the mind and heart of the violent opponent can best be described by the word "conversion". Probably the process is analogous to that of religious conversion, though in this case the change is moral rather than religious. The process may be explained as follows:

Every civilised person possesses in either his conscious or subconscious mind a store of elementary moral memories. Some of these are myths, fables, stories or other fictitious events which, as a child, he took for realities; some are moral relationships or moral standards impressed upon the individual at various stages in his development. Some of these have been repressed because they were inconsistent with subsequent courses of conduct. Others have been forgotten simply from lack of use or lack of attention. Each such residue of former beliefs or impressions is composed of representational, emotional and motor factors associated into a unit, and each of these units seems to have more or less psychic energy.

During a prolonged struggle between a non-violent resister and a violent opponent, the psychological processes which we have described, together with the emotional and moral perturbation caused thereby, operate apparently to recall to consciousness some of the forgotten elemental

fragments of moral memories, to dissociate some of the complexes and sentiments which have been controlling the violent person's conduct, to separate from those complexes and sentiments their emotional tone and psychic energy, and transfer such emotion and energy to some of those revived memories, or to form a fresh combination of such psychic elements and attach the emotion and psychic energy to those new combinations. The psychologists of the psycho-analytical school call this shifting of emotional tone and energy "displacement." Along with this shifting of the representational, feeling and motor factors of the psychic units, and their re-association into new "constellations", the experiences of the struggle also tend to induce in the attacker a sublimation of his desires and energies,—a lifting of them to a more social level, a re-directing of them in a more inclusive synthesis in which they can be reconciled with more of the finer ideals of human association.<sup>15a</sup>

Non-violent resistance in complete form is a dramatisation of the idea of essential human unity. Therefore, with all the subtle power of sincere drama, it works upon the mind and heart of the opponent. In this drama the movement and confronting of ideas and forces probably causes in the opponent and spectator a clearer and profounder realisation of human relationships, an alteration of sentiments, a reconciliation of impulses, and an illumination, enlargement, and enrichment of consciousness. It may stimulate what the Gestalt psychologists call "insight" and

"maturation". It probably brings about a more highly organised and more delicately balanced synthesis of the elements in the spectator's experience, an inner organisation "less wasteful of human possibilities"<sup>15b</sup> than that which prevailed in him before. It reveals the power of the human soul, its ability to triumph over suffering and apparent disaster.

In addition to these processes which are mainly subconscious in their operation, there are others which are perhaps chiefly conscious.

The psychological nature of non-violent resistance may well be considered a form of what Rivers called "manipulative activity". In discussing different modes of reaction to danger, he says:<sup>16</sup>

"In the presence of danger man, in the vast majority of cases, neither flees nor adopts an attitude of aggression, but responds by the special kind of activity, often of a highly complex kind, whereby the danger may be avoided or overcome. From most of the dangers to which mankind is exposed in the complex conditions of our own society, the means to escape lie in complex activities of a manipulative kind which seem to justify the term I have chosen. The hunter has to discharge his weapon, perhaps combined with movements which put him into a favourable situation for such an action. The driver of a car and the pilot of an aeroplane in danger of collision have to perform complex movements by which the danger is avoided."

We may say that non-violent resistance is a sort of moral manipulative activity in which the factors used and operated upon are largely psychological.

It may clarify our thinking somewhat to remember that we are not considering two static entities, an angry person versus a kindly person. We are rather dealing with two natures and an environment which are all mobile and changing, each constantly acting on the other,—influencing, changing, then responding to the new condition thus created.<sup>17</sup>

Another process develops after the struggle has proceeded some time,—namely that of reassurance of the violent party. Much of the opponent's original basis of anger or fear is removed. The assailant finds that the resister does not bear enmity toward him. He finds that at least his "better self" and potentialities are respected instead of humiliated; he finds his original desires so illuminated and transmuted that in their new form they may be more easily satisfied. He finds the resister always ready to negotiate and showing and inviting him to take a dignified way by which he, the assailant, may quickly regain his self-respect and public esteem. Since he has been provided with a satisfactory road for action, he is not left with any "balked disposition" as Graham Wallas calls it.

Then comes the stage of what Miss M. P. Follett calls "integration". In her very thoughtful book *Creative Experience*,<sup>18</sup> she shows that either voluntary submission of one side, struggle and victory of one side over the other, or a compromise, are all highly unsatisfactory and productive of further trouble. She then explains a fourth way, "integration".

Integration is arrived at by first analysing the expressed desires of the opponents into their elements and more fundamental meanings. For instance, to take a simple case, an insistence on having a table in a certain place in a room might really mean a wish to have light on one's writing while working at the table, together with an inability to see how it could be secured in any other way. The desire of Russia to control the Dardanelles may really mean a desire for security in free trade. Insistence upon following a given kind of trade may mean a need for employment, a desire for money, and a desire to satisfy pride. An insistence upon political control of a certain territory may mean a need for food and industrial raw material and a desire to satisfy pride, and an inability to see how the satisfaction of these needs can be made wholly secure in any other way.

The integration consists of inventing and working out a wholly new solution, perhaps involving very different activities, which satisfies all or most of the fundamental desires and needs of both parties in a situation, and utilises freely and fully the energies of both without balking or suppression. The integration requires preliminary analysis, then an invention of a new solution which gives free scope to the energies of all parties concerned. Inevitably the solution is satisfying all round.

It takes much creative intelligence and ingenuity to find integrations, and not all differences can be integrated immediately. Temporary compromises can be made, however, pending the

further search and alterations due to passage of time, ending in an ultimate integration.<sup>19</sup>

In this connection it is well to remember the importance of love. Love for an opponent makes possible the sympathetic appreciation of the real meaning and value of the opponent's contentions, positions, and desires, and gives a willingness to approach them open-mindedly, creating the right atmosphere for an integration of both sets of interests to a higher plane of action. Also it induces a frame of mind in the opponent which leads him to understand *your* needs, contentions, etc. And it shows the opponent that you are so appreciative of his side of the case that he can safely trust you.

Miss Follett's idea of integration indicates that non-violent resistance, as a method, by itself does not necessarily settle all the conflict. It may be said to solve most of the emotional part,—the fear, anger, pride, etc.,—while the rest of the conflict may have to be solved by keen and perhaps prolonged intellectual exploration, with the new emotional attitude always at its elbow to help over the tight places.

All this ebb and flow of feeling and action and discussion may take place in different order from that described above. Its temper and intensity may vary according to the circumstances and character of the persons involved. It might take a considerable time to work through. Between sensitive persons the course of feelings and actions might be almost instantaneous. With a very proud or self-deceiving person, or a hardened soldier or

policeman as attacker, the actual violence might be severe and repeated and lasting before the change of attitude or heart of the attacker would come about. Yet even among such attackers the surprise and wonder would be so great as often to cause a far quicker *volte-face* and solution than might at first be expected.

And when a solution is found there is satisfaction and good feeling and finer attitude and action not only among the participants to the struggle but among all the onlookers and public. To have the finer potentialities of men flower forth and bear fruit enhances the morale of all who learn of it.

## CHAPTER IV

### UTILISING EMOTIONAL ENERGY

As a method of solving a conflict, non-violent resistance is sounder than reciprocal violence because it is more efficient.<sup>1</sup>

The first reason for this is partly physiological. Anger, hatred, and fear make an enormous drain upon our energy.<sup>2</sup> Hatred eats up our energies and our imaginations. If you hate a man sufficiently, you cannot get him out of your mind, you are attached to him, you are his slave. The thought of him is an obsession; it wastes most of your time.

In a violent struggle these emotions persist after the combat itself ceases. A victory by violence means humiliation for the conquered. He has had to admit the winner's superiority for the moment but he vows vengeance. His resentment seeks satisfaction as soon as possible. His original anger, repressed by circumstances, becomes hatred and longs for revenge and retaliation. He nurses his grudge. His sympathetic family or friends may make his case their own. Perhaps a feud or vendetta develops. There have been many instances of feuds lasting many generations. International enmities in Europe have lasted for centuries. Retaliation provokes counter-retaliation. The original evil or damage is vastly multiplied, and absorbs an enormous amount of time and energy away from useful occupations.



This wider and slower-acting effect of revenge and resentment is usually overlooked or minimised by the militarists and glorifiers of war and physical force. But it holds true whether the struggle is between two individuals, between one person and a group, or between two or more groups,—whether the groups be small or large. It holds true in varying degrees whether the original combat ended with no permanent injury to either side, with some injury, or with death. It runs through all forms,—the spanking of a child, a fight, a criminal arrest and imprisonment, capital punishment, a lynching, a strike or riot, piracy, a military raid or “punitive expedition”, or civil or international war. Rarely does a peace settlement bring full satisfaction, forgiveness and solution of the entire original conflict, so that both parties feel thoroughly happy and ready to go ahead without suspicion or resentment. Anger is thus inefficient in both methods and results.

The peaceful resister has to expend much energy, but he applies it more intelligently than does the violent man. He selects the really important forces in the environment and seeks to alter them.<sup>3</sup> The angry and violent man puts too much emphasis on immediate objects and too little on the ultimate impelling forces behind them. If he considers impelling forces, he does not analyse them sufficiently or go far enough back. He has to waste much energy because, as it were, he uses too short leverages in attempting to move or divert opposing objects or forces. The non-violent resister, by using longer psycho-

logical leverages, may have to move more slowly sometimes, but the work is more efficiently done and tends to be more permanent.

What the American psychiatrist, W. A. White, says of conflicting tendencies in the individual may be applied as well to a conflict between two persons :

“It follows from all this that the symbolisation of the conflict, either in the dream or in the symptoms of the neurosis or psychosis, will contain elements representative of both factors, and also that no solution of the conflict can come about except by the satisfaction of both these diametrically opposed tendencies. It follows, too, that no conflict can be solved at the level of the conflict. That is, two mutually opposed tendencies can never unite their forces except at a higher level, in an all inclusive synthesis which lifts the whole situation to a level above that upon which the conflict rose.” . . .<sup>4</sup>

Mutual violent struggle is an attempt to solve a contest “at the level of the conflict”. The defeat of either party results in suppression or repression of the energy of the wishes or will of the defeated party which is certain to result in waste, friction and trouble sooner or later. The repressed energy of the thwarted or defeated person, will eventually find an outlet, a sort of revenge.<sup>5</sup> But non-violent resistance, followed up with moderate wisdom, offers a solution which gives satisfactory scope for the energies of both parties. Often it enhances their energies, as a result of the subsequent good feeling. New associations open up new channels for pleasurable and fruitful activity. A synthesis of both energies

is similar to what the Freudians call a "sublimation".

The non-violent resister does not want a passive compliance from the attacker, such as would be secured by using successful counter-violence against him. He wants the full energy of the attacker's active help. Therefore he tries to make it easy and reasonable for the attacker to join forces in the new programme. He knows that the pattern of a peaceful stimulus to the violent one is more harmonious, more "voluminous", and therefore more potent and efficient than a violent, i. e. intense and painful, stimulus would be.<sup>6</sup>

Peace imposed by violence is not psychological peace but a suppressed conflict. It is unstable for it contains the seeds of its own destruction. The outer condition is not a true reflection of the inner condition. But in peace secured by true non-violent resistance there is no longer any inner conflict but a new channel found in which both the formerly conflicting energies are at work in the same direction and in harmony. Here the outer condition truly reflects the inner condition. This is perhaps one reason why Gandhi calls this mode of solving conflict *Satyagraha*,—holding to truth. Such a peace is enduring.

If we are to find something which will overcome anger and fear, it must be in principle the opposite of them and stronger than they are. Usually we think of courage as the opposite of fear. But really courage is only a partial

antithesis. Courage implies a readiness to fight, to risk oneself, to match strength against strength, intelligence against intelligence. Courage, like anger, implies an attempt to end the threat of the opposing force or person by driving it away, making it submissive or destroying it, but does not usually imply rising above it and utilising its energy in a higher synthesis. That is to say, courage implies willingness to engage in conflict on the same plane in which the threatening force is found, perhaps because of an estimation of superior strength or perhaps because of a consciousness of or faith in a higher security, and this means trying to suppress the energy of the force opposed. But love involves not only a willingness to take risks and face the threatening force, but also a desire and usually an ability to lift the conflict to a higher plane, and in that higher plane utilise the energy of the opposing force in a higher integration or sublimation. Love is stronger than fear and anger; for one reason, because it is able to manipulate and guide their energy. It is more intelligent and far-seeing, as it were. It is also stronger because it is a more inclusive sentiment than fear or anger or hate, as has already been explained. Love means using in the moral sphere the principle of the resolution of forces, known to every schoolboy who has studied physics, instead of the wasteful principles of direct opposition and consequent waste of energy and unsatisfactory and only temporary results. Love does something better than conquer, for conquest implies destruction.

submission and suppression. Love is more intelligent and tries not to allow any energy to go to waste.

In so far as life is made up of a flow of energy, any principle is sound which increases the flow of energy and makes possible the joining and mutual reinforcement of two or more channels of energy. An increase of life energy gives power and joy.

So love is a great principle in moral mechanics. It does not suppress or thwart the energy behind fear and anger but uses it, and finds ways to steer it into channels desirable to both parties to the conflict. Fear and anger both involve an idea of separation, a flight or a driving away or extinction. Love, on the other hand, involves the idea of unity and attraction. It is, therefore, the true opposite, the sound principle by which to eliminate fear, anger, pride, and all other divisive emotions and attitudes. "Against the superiority of another there exists no weapon or remedy save love."<sup>7</sup> All this makes clear, perhaps, why it has been said that "Perfect love casteth out fear."

From all this we see that non-violent resistance is psychologically more efficient than violence.

Problems of conflict cannot, however, always be solved by firm refusals, kindly spirit, a desire for settlement and prolonged thinking and discussion. Further action is often necessary for psychological completeness and in order to expand and exemplify ideas sufficiently to make a real

settlement. William James pointed out that it is psychologically unhealthy to feel an emotion or impulse and not give it fairly prompt expression in action.<sup>8</sup> And in certain situations and with certain people action must be immediate,—action which is constructive of a new order and thereby resistant to the old order. We tend to believe that thought clarifies action and should precede action as the architect's plan precedes the construction of a building, but often in actual life action precedes thought and clarifies thought and even creates it. A sudden uprush of creative energy from the subconscious may discharge immediately into action without becoming conscious thought or taking time to find words until later. Action may, indeed, be considered a mode of thought. Such action by the true peaceful resister is not an expression of suppressed anger or indignation, but an immediate creative urge of the whole personality. In certain situations such action is tremendously energetic and swift,—a sudden surge of power that is almost explosive. It may clear the air like a flash of lightning and prove wonderfully refreshing. It may help to create new values.

Examples of this sudden and immensely energetic action are found in the Indian Nationalist movement of 1930. The widespread manufacture of salt in opposition to the Government salt monopoly, the refusal to pay taxes, the picketing of liquor and opium shops, the combination of making homespun cloth and picketing shops selling foreign cloth are specific instances. These activities.

were non-violent. They aimed at replacing a pre-existing order by a new order. They were intended to put an end, among the masses, to the pre-existing fear of the Government, and to stimulate courage, self-reliance, self-respect and political unity. They actually had that effect in large measure. Other examples of sudden strong action which is resistant in one aspect and creative in another will readily occur to parents, experienced teachers, and those who have dealt much with modern reform efforts among delinquent children.

Action of this sort often seems necessary in the case of young persons, young mass movements and young nations. The earlier stages of life are primarily motor in character, and at that period strenuous action must follow promptly after thoughts and feelings and may often precede thought and accompany feeling from its beginning. Perhaps certain pathological conditions of human relationships require sudden and drastic action to create a better order. There is evidence indicating that the politico-economic relations between Britain and India had by 1930 reached a state which was morally pathological.<sup>9</sup>

When we come to consider the history and evolution of the instinct of pugnacity we find further assurance of the validity of the method of non-violent resistance.

Hocking, in his *Human Nature and Its Remaking* already cited, has<sup>10</sup> an exceedingly interesting discussion of this point which may be summarised as follows:

In its original and crudest form pugnacity requires the destruction of its object. But with the higher animals and man, destruction results in a partial defeat of one's total wish. The conqueror has enough interest in the survival of his opponent to want to see its chagrin and its acknowledgment of him as victor. The feeling "I want destruction" becomes "I want revenge." But revenge likes to nurse itself and persist, and this tends toward prolonging the vanquished's life so as to enjoy his discomfiture to the utmost. And the intensity of hatred in the victims of ruthless revenge becomes a danger. So revenge develops into punishment. Punishment tries to inflict pain but without permanent injury. It discriminates between the *evil* of will of the opponent and the will itself, just as revenge distinguished between the will and the life. Punishment tried to get rid of "an evil element in the will of another while retaining the integrity of, and the regard for that will as a whole." The next step was a sort of therapeutic improvement, a discovery of a better way to cure an evil or defective element in an opponent's will. Punishment always resulted in some degree of bitterness or hatred, which interfered with the cure of the will. It was discovered that kindness and friendliness induce a desire in the opponent's own mind and heart to get rid of the defect or difficulty, a sort of auto-suggestion which was most efficient. Thus long-continued experience has brought the shrewdest men to realise that the earlier and cruder expressions of pugnacity and anger "are



not what the human being, on the whole, wants." What a person really wants is the richest and fullest possible expression of his energy, and to attain that completely there must be an equally rich and full expression of energy by all other persons. Such is the evolution of the instinct of pugnacity.

"The doctrine of pacifism," it has been said, "is a perfectly natural development, and ultimately inevitable in an animal having an unlimited appetite for experience and an indestructible inheritance of social instinct."<sup>11</sup>

Altruism is

"a characteristic of the gregarious animal, and a perfectly normal and necessary development in him of his instinctive inheritance.—The biologist . . . is aware that altruism . . . is the direct outcome of instinct, and that it is a source of strength because it is a source of union."

Apparently certain instincts are of more use to the herd at an early stage of its development than at a later stage.

Perhaps the East, as expressed by Buddha, Hindu ethics, the Jainas, Lao Tsu, Christ and Gandhi, has studied psychology and "behaviourism" more profoundly than any modern Westerners have yet succeeded in doing. The Oriental terminology may be different from ours but that does not make the conclusions less wise. The dense population and prolonged ages of intense social experience of India, China and other Asiatic civilisations brought about an insight and realisation of the psychological validity of non-violent resistance.

Modern development of swift means of communication and transportation, the shocks and suffering of the Great War, and the researches of Western psychology are perhaps tending to have the same effect as the dense population and long-sustained experience of the East; thus, maybe, preparing the Western mind to realise the same truth.

## CHAPTER V

### HOW IS MASS NON-VIOLENCE POSSIBLE ?

THE wisdom of the East is gradually being approached in the West by way of scientific psychology and analysis. Many of our social problems will reach solution only after we apprehend more clearly the processes of our own thinking and emotions. A full understanding of conflict, between groups as well as between individuals, requires comprehension of the dynamic aspects of fear and anger, and of their results in action.

Fear and anger are closely allied. They have the same origin or purpose,—to separate a person from a living creature, force or situation considered by the person to be painful, threatening or dangerous to his comfort; well-being, the easy action of his instincts, or his very existence. If the person feels that he is stronger than the threatening force or situation, the emotion is anger; while if he estimates the danger as stronger than himself (including his skill), the emotion is fear.<sup>1</sup>

“In anger the removal may be effected by driving it (the threatening object) from the environment, destroying its consistency, or if it is a threatening posture in another animal the removal may consist of merely changing the aggressive posture of the opponent into a submissive one.”<sup>2</sup>

Hate is a sort of deferred or thwarted anger. The hated person or force is too strong to be removed or destroyed, and yet not strong enough

to cause flight or abject submission. Therefore the person puts up with it, wishing all the time to destroy or harm it but not quite daring to do so, waiting for an opportunity to weaken or destroy it, but restraining his anger from blazing forth into open combat.

It seems from this that fear is always a *fear of losing* something considered valuable. Always a loss or separation of some sort is threatened. So a sense of impending or possible loss is always the basis of both fear and anger. If that threat is wholly removed, the fear and anger also disappear.<sup>3</sup>

The instinct of flight corresponds to or operates along with the emotion of fear, while the instinct of pugnacity corresponds to or accompanies the emotion of anger. These instincts have the same purpose as these emotions,—to separate oneself from a painful or threatening force or situation.

This common motive or basis of these pairs of emotions and instincts provides the explanation of how mass non-violent resistance is possible and also practical. We know that the elemental instinct of flight and emotion of fear can be controlled and disciplined by military training. Ages of war have taught us that this control and discipline are practical and effective. Since that is possible, it is equally possible to control and discipline the parallel and equally elemental instinct of pugnacity and emotion of anger.

The existence of mass sentiments, their power to control mass action, and the fact that they can

be deliberately cultivated, constitute another reason why mass non-violent resistance is possible and practical.

It may be said that the discipline of emotion and instinct involved in military war is feasible because courage comes to its aid. Courage seems to grow out of either a perception of superior strength, skill, endurance, or security, or the superiority of the instinct for race preservation over that of individual self-preservation, as where a mother sacrifices herself for her offspring.

But it is conceivable that in the case of non-violent resistance there is another sort of courage, growing out of a different type of strength, skill, endurance or security; or perhaps here, too, there may be a factor operating for the preservation of the race,—a more far-seeing factor, as it were. The race has had more experience of the discipline of war than of the discipline of non-violent resistance; but that does not make the creation and maintenance of the latter discipline more difficult intrinsically, once the matter is fully understood. Military discipline requires partial temporary control of anger as well as of fear. The new discipline would probably be quantitatively more difficult, because it involves more complete control of both fear and anger; but not qualitatively or intrinsically more difficult, because both these emotions are similar in origin and in ultimate purpose, namely, race-preservation through individual self-preservation. And it seems that now the human race has perhaps developed enough knowledge and intelligence for a larger

number of its leaders to begin to grasp the possibilities of this novel discipline.<sup>4</sup>

The possibility of altering the expression of pugnacity and creating this new discipline will be readily appreciated by students of psychology by reference to Pavlov's researches on "conditioned reflexes".<sup>5</sup> Without attempting here to explain conditioned reflexes, it may be stated that Pavlov has again and again, at will, been able to alter a dog's response to a destructive or painful stimulus from one of anger or defence, to one of assimilation. Or to be specific, a dog's digestive reflex may be made to stop appearing in the presence of food, and instead to appear upon feeling pain from an electric shock or a burn of an acid on the skin. The reflex may be reconditioned to a new stimulus which was just the opposite sort from what would be expected.

J. B. Watson's experiments<sup>6</sup> showing that a new-born baby has only two fears,—that of falling and of a sudden loud noise,—suggest that all other and more complex fears are conditioned reflexes. This would tend to support the idea of war as being in part a mass-conditioned reflex. To the extent that it is such, that part of it may be altered and reconditioned, just as much as any other. Or if friendly behaviour or kindness can be considered in part a conditioned reflex, we may recondition that part of it to respond to hostile treatment. Of course both war and non-violent resistance are much more than reflexes or instinctive actions, for they involve complex sentiments and conscious discipline. Nevertheless,

the instinctive or reflex elements in war are capable of further alteration and discipline.

But is not human nature too weak for this new discipline? Does it not make too heavy a drain on the resources of idealism, sentiment, emotion and moral character of ordinary mankind? No, not under proper training, especially when coupled with understanding. It may take a few years to establish. It is said to take four years to make a good private soldier. New habits take time to become firm. "One lesson of the war is that discipline is effective in making good soldiers out of the most unpromising material."<sup>7</sup> This is as true of the control or discipline of anger as it is of the discipline of fear. It is proved by the success in 1928 with the perfectly ordinary human material among the peasantry of Bardoli district, whereby, as a result of several years of training, they conducted a wholly successful non-violent struggle against the Government of the Bombay Presidency (India) for a revision of the method of assessing land taxes. Those few thousand simple peasants won their fight on practically all the items of their original demands. A victory like this against the cleverest and most experienced ruling class in the world, is no small test of the efficacy of the method. More examples were cited in Chapter 1.

Napoleon said that the value of discipline is seventy-five per cent of all the elements that go to make success in battle.<sup>8</sup> Foch wrote, "Discipline constitutes the main strength of armies."<sup>9</sup> The Duke of Wellington said, "Nature! Habit is ten

times nature.”<sup>10</sup> This is just as true of the non-violent discipline as of the discipline in violence. Gandhi realised this when he called off the struggle for Indian political independence in 1922 after the Chauri-Chaura riots. He was sure that non-violent resistance was the only way by which India could gain her political freedom. He tried to teach and train India to use that weapon. But when many did not understand the new method or failed in their self-control so that there were riots in Bombay in November, 1921, and again in Chauri-Chaura in early 1922, he saw that they were not sufficiently disciplined. He could no more wage his kind of war with followers so undisciplined than Napoleon or Foch could win *their* kind without discipline. Therefore he declined battle. But that did not mean that the *method* was a failure, but only that the new discipline was not sufficiently understood nor the training sufficiently prolonged. His hostile Indian critics in this matter did not understand the new method. Some of his formal opponents understood him better and appraised the power of his weapon more truly.<sup>11</sup>

The failure at that time through lack of discipline no more proves that non-violent resistance is ineffective or futile or impossible than the many routs and flights in battle prove that armies and violence are ineffective and absurd. Nor do the deaths and sufferings of non-violent resisters in the past prove any more in this respect than the deaths and wounds of war. This was the first attempt to organise and discipline a large



army of non-violent resisters. Is it surprising that there was enough indiscipline and misunderstanding to make it necessary to call a halt, execute a strategic retreat, and begin to reform the ranks and train them more intensively and fundamentally ?

As a matter of fact there was proportionately more misunderstanding and lack of discipline among the literate and "intelligentsia" of India than among the illiterate peasantry. This is natural, because absorption of Western ways of thinking was an influence in favour of Western ways. Mental habit is strong, and so it was not easy for the intelligentsia to understand this new concept and discipline. This largely accounts also for the misunderstanding of Gandhi in the West. Up till now, pacifists have not sufficiently realised either the possibilities of joint, corporate action in non-violent resistance nor the necessity for discipline, nor the kind and intensity and many-sided details of that discipline.<sup>12</sup> They should learn from their friends the militarists.<sup>13</sup>

It may be said, "You have named certain instances when non-violent resistance has been successful, but there have been countless exceptions, so many that the exceptions are the rule." I grant the death of Jesus and the Christian martyrs, the slaughter of innocent thousands by Jenghis Khan and Tamerlane, the tortures of Albigenes, lynchings of Negroes, and countless other instances. Some of these people, like many soldiers, won or established their causes even though they lost their own lives. Neither they nor their methods were any more "futile" than those of all soldiers.

But perhaps most of them did not show true non-violent resistance. Maybe they were undisciplined or frightened or poorly led, and hence were unnecessarily killed and partly wasted, just as any undisciplined troops would be in war.

The failures and apparent futilities of non-violent resistance in the past have been due, very largely, to lack of discipline, as well as lack of understanding of the full implications and requirements of the method. Of course there are sure to be some casualties and losses under it, even at its best. But provided there is discipline and leadership which fully understands the psychological mechanisms and the moral and spiritual elements involved, I am convinced that the losses will be much less than in violent war. The calculus of moral probabilities gives this answer, and historical examples of its intelligent practice prove it, as we have already seen. Even in the case of individual encounters, if the method is used with understanding or faith, and complete sincerity, the chances of failure or death are less, I believe, than if violence is relied upon. And of course even where death occurs, the cause for which the man died may triumph in spite of his death or even because of it. The validity of the method is to be tested mainly by whether it can achieve success for its cause, but also partly by its ability to achieve such success with less destruction of life, physical injury or destruction of property than when violence is used. On both these points non-violent resistance wins, provided the discipline, understanding and leadership are sound. And all

these are as possible with it as in the case of military methods.

An army can be effective without every soldier in it, or even a majority of them, being individual paragons of intelligence and military virtue. Discipline removes most of the effect of their individual weaknesses and adds momentum to their virtues. It is the same with a group or army of disciplined non-violent resisters. If their leaders have the requisite attitude, understanding and intelligence, the rank and file may be ordinary human material at the start. The new training and discipline will improve them enormously, as is also asserted for military discipline. Presumably, the smaller the group, the more complete the discipline and understanding must be. Individuals using non-violent resistance alone would require more self-control and ability than is needed for a disciplined group. But even here the inner attitude and emotional understanding and control are much more important than any intellectual ability or experience in the rough-and-tumble world. Indeed, in certain situations so-called "intellect" and experience count for almost nothing.

Hence it is not necessary that every single person in a nation seeking freedom by non-violent resistance must be fully disciplined to non-violence, any more than every single citizen in a nation at war must be fully disciplined for active battle and wholly fearless under attack. Yet it is just as possible for whole nations to *understand* the idea and to be so self-disciplined as to give the "troops" hearty support and do nothing (as by

outbreaks of anger and violence, riots, etc.) to interfere with their operations, as it is in the case of whole nations understanding war and supporting their armies in time of war. They must also help the cause by constructive unifying service to all members of their nation, and by self-purification as individuals and as groups.

Violence is based upon fear and anger and uses them to the utmost. We have seen that these two emotions are based on the idea of separation, of division. Non-violent resistance, on the other hand, is based upon the idea of unity. The hypothesis of non-violent resisters is that the strongest factor in human beings, in the long run, is their unity;—that they have more as a human family in common than as separate individuals. This unity is biological, psychological, moral, and, for those who believe in spirit, spiritual. The basic assumption of these creative men of peace is, that their opponents, no matter how forbidding externally, or no matter what their past history, are at bottom decent and have in their hearts at least a spark of good spirit which can eventually be aroused and strengthened into action. Non-violent resisters have sound biological, psychological and historical evidence for this belief. If it were not true, the human race would long ago have ceased to exist.

The faith of the non-violent resister in the ultimate flowering of the good potentialities of all people need not be a blind faith. It has a solid foundation in an intrinsic quality of all living protoplasm,—the fact that all living organisms

respond to stimulus, and that in the more complex organisms the responses are adapted to the stimuli so as to tend to preserve the species. Adaptation to environment is the large-scale proof of this. In the most complex and delicately balanced organisms, such as man, the response tends to partake of the same quality as the stimulus. Emotional, intellectual and moral faculties, as well as bodily tissues, are subject to the laws of stimulus and response. All education is based on this fact.

Moreover, responses are called forth by exceedingly small stimuli,—such stimuli as in the moral field would be called gentle. Stimuli far below what is called “the threshold of response”, when sufficiently repeated, have a definite perceptible effect, sometimes by way of inhibition of other kinds of response to other stimuli. Examples of this are the action of the hormone called adrenalin, a dilution of which only one part in 250,000,000 will cause a rise of blood pressure; or that of the pituitary hormone, a dilution of which to the extent of only one part in 100,000,000,000 causes strong uterine contractions in the female animal. Again, the minimum lethal dose of crude botulinus toxin filtrate is only one part in a number represented by 1 followed by twenty cyphers.<sup>14</sup>

It is also a well-known biological fact that growth of living tissue is caused not by harsh, violent stimuli but by prolonged repetition of slight or gentle stimuli. This is conclusively proved not only by laboratory experiments but by

what takes place every spring. After the winter solstice, the days gradually lengthen by an interval of one to three minutes,—just that little bit more of sunshine each day. For thirty or forty repetitions of this stimulus there is, in northern continental lands anyhow, no apparent effect upon vegetation. But after sixty or more such repetitions the green grass begins to show, the buds swell and burst; and after one hundred and twenty and more such stimuli we have a vast surge of energy and life in the vegetable, insect and animal worlds,—the spring and summer. This has gone on for hundreds of millions of years. Growth in response to prolonged repetition of appropriate gentle stimuli is a sure thing, as sure as there is life on this earth; it can be relied upon without any hesitation or doubt.<sup>15</sup> This, I think, was what Jesus means when he told his disciples to forgive seventy times seven,—repeating many, many times the gentle stimulus to unity implied by forgiveness.

These facts show the function of and necessity for great gentleness, patience, and persistence on the part of non-violent resisters.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE WORKING OF MASS NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE

ASSUMING that the discipline of non-violence can be and has been attained, how does it actually work in group or mass use ?

Since war is the most highly developed and best understood mode of mass struggle, we will find our explanation first from authorities on the science and art of war.

Marshal Foch showed clearly by many examples that the method of war is primarily psychological, or what he calls "moral".

"Proofs and instances could be given indefinitely of that great importance of morale in war. Von der Goltz himself tells us that; 'It is not so much a question of destroying the enemy troops as of destroying their courage. Victory is yours as soon as you convince your opponent that his cause is lost.' And again: 'One defeats the enemy not by individual and complete annihilation, but by destroying his hopes of victory.'"<sup>1</sup>

Marshal de Saxe remarked: "The secret of victory lies in the hearts of human beings."<sup>2</sup> Napoleon stated that, "In war, the moral is to the physical as three is to one." Von Clausewitz, speaking of von Clausewitz's book on war, says,<sup>3</sup> "As he pictures war, the struggle between the spiritual and moral forces on both sides is the centre of all." General Sir F. Maurice writes that war is "an act in which moral and psychological factors have a supreme influence."<sup>4</sup> Captain

B. H. Liddell Hart says that the World War confirms "the immemorial lesson of history that the true aim in war is the mind of the enemy command and government, not the bodies of their troops, that the balance between victory and defeat turns on mental impressions and only indirectly on physical blows."<sup>5</sup>

The object of non-violent resistance is partly analogous to this object of war—namely, to demoralise the opponent, to break his will, to destroy his confidence, enthusiasm and hope. In another respect it is dissimilar, for non-violent resistance demoralises the opponent only to re-establish in him a new morale that is finer because it is based on sounder values. Non-violent resistance does not break the opponent's will but alters it; does not destroy his confidence and enthusiasm and hope but transfers them to a finer purpose. But because we in the West are so thoroughly familiar with war and military ways of thinking, the fact that there is a partial analogy between the two methods of solving conflicts provides a bridge for our thinking. By following the analogy we Westerners can come to an understanding of the new method and its effectiveness.

As Hocking points out, "Morale is at the bottom a state of will or purpose."<sup>6</sup> It seems to rest largely upon such factors as the individual soldier's confidence in himself, in his comrades, in his army, in his leaders, in the methods used, in the cause for which the war is being waged, in his government, in the civilians of the nation behind them all. It also contains such elements



as a sense of being merged into the larger unity of the army, habit, tradition, humour, and appreciation of risk and a relish for adventure.<sup>7</sup>

Suppose a group of non-violent resisters were opposed to a company of soldiers, in a case of a strike, or some non-violent Indians against British soldiers or Filipinos against United States soldiers. Suppose also that the soldiers attempted clubbing tactics or bayonet work. Let us assume also that the civilians have been non-violent from the start and there is no shooting by the soldiers.<sup>8</sup> But suppose some violence by the soldiers, and arrests of the civilians. Also that the cause is so strong that as fast as any are arrested, others come to take their places. What, presumably, would be the effect on the morale of the soldiers?

To a certain extent the effect would be the same as that described in the preceding chapter where an individual person violently attacks a non-violent resister. But the discipline and habits of the soldiers would largely prevent this from happening at first. The individual soldier's will has become merged with the general will of the army, and wholly subordinated to that of the commanding officer. He is used to rough tactics and is not at all squeamish about inflicting pain and injury on others.

Nevertheless, "One of the chief results of military training is to increase the suggestibility of the private."<sup>9</sup> Of course, as Rivers points out, this suggestibility is chiefly in relation to the officers, but no doubt the soldiers are also suggestible in relation to the acts and conduct of

their opponents or "enemies" because such acts and conduct are the whole object toward which the morale of the soldiers has been built up. This is also indicated by the remarks of von Clausewitz and von Caemmerer.<sup>10</sup> "War is a constant state of reciprocal action, the effects of which are mutual." "Every action in war is saturated with mental forces and effects. . . . War is a constant reciprocal effect of action of both parties." This fact then would presently tend to offset a little the discipline and hardness of the soldiers.

The conduct of these civilians would cause surprise in the individual soldier and thus start him thinking. Frederick the Great wrote, "If my soldiers began to think, not one would remain in the ranks." As soon as a soldier begins to think of certain sorts of things, he begins to be an individual, to separate himself from the mass mind, the will and personality of the army. According to one surgeon in the British army, "The whole army training is designed for this one purpose of merging the individual into the mass."<sup>11</sup> If, then, the soldier is made to think for himself in the midst of a conflict, it is the opening wedge for the disintegration of his morale. I do not mean to say that modern soldiers do no thinking at all, but it will be conceded that in these days of the printing press a very large proportion of all people do very little thinking for themselves. And among soldiers, this is still more true over a still wider range of affairs.

As the struggle proceeds, suppose the non-violent civilians maintain their discipline and keep

cheerful but also keep stating their side of the case earnestly and in all sincerity. Sooner or later the soldiers will talk about it among themselves. The civilians' total absence of retaliation or vindictiveness of even looks or tone of voice contrasts effectively with the harsh or stern commands of their officers. The situation will tell on the nerves of both officers and soldiers. This sort of thing is new to them. They do not know how to treat it. "These civilians seem wholly inoffensive and harmless and honest. What is their crime? Why were we soldiers called out for such a job? We are for war work, but this is peace." Thus they will question in their minds and perhaps among themselves. They will begin to fraternise openly or surreptitiously with the civilians and prisoners, and learn more about the dispute in which they are engaged. It will no longer appear to be a clear-cut case of right *v.* wrong, but the opponent's case will appear to have elements of reason.

If the officers forbid them to fraternise with the opponents, the soldiers may think that the order is stupid or that the officers are timid. This would lessen respect for their officers and lower morale.

If there really is solid truth in the position of the non-violent resisters, the soldiers will presently begin to question the validity of their cause. They may become slack in obeying orders. They will see no good to be gained by their being there, and no evil or danger to be averted. "When doubt comes, morale crumbles."<sup>12</sup> The

Duke of Wellington put it even more forcefully;—  
“No man with any scruples of conscience is fit to be a soldier.” One of the important elements in a soldier’s morale is his consciousness of being a protector.<sup>13</sup> If he is deprived of that, he feels useless and perhaps a little absurd. There is no exhilaration in using violence against non-violent resisters. The soldiers may even feel that the authorities or their officers have morally “let them down” or “sold” them. In such an event, their morale will go quickly:

Meanwhile the situation is unpleasant for the officers, too. If they make any serious mistake, they are apt to lose the respect of the private soldiers as well as of the general public. If they order any shooting, there is almost sure to be a wave of public indignation. They know how to fight, but they feel that this situation is “a mess”. As Lieut.-Col. Andrews says,<sup>14</sup> “Officers naturally dread riot duty, with the uncertainties as to how to handle the many delicate situations.” While there is no rioting here, the situation is felt to be just as delicate nevertheless, perhaps even more so. Soldiers are trained for action but this encounter is nearly all quiet. Inaction is notoriously hard on a soldier’s morale.<sup>15</sup>

But someone may object that non-violent resistance is so largely defensive, so passive, that it would be fully as hard on the morale of those using it as on that of the soldiers opposing them. Not so. The conduct of the non-violent resister is not one of mere passive waiting or endurance. Toward his opponent he is not aggressive

physically, but his mind and emotions are active, wrestling constantly with the problem of persuading the latter that he is mistaken, seeking proposals as to a better way out, examining his own cause and organisation to see what may be its mistakes or short-sightedness, thinking constantly of all possible ways of winning the truth for both sides. And among his own group he is ceaselessly active in strengthening the organisation, increasing their unity, perfecting the discipline, enlightening the understanding, helping to remove every possible cause of reproach.

Most private soldiers are bored with monotony and irresponsibility. The conduct of these civilians will be new to them and will elicit their interest and attention all the more because of their previous boredom. It will be a relief and diversion to have something new to think about.

The courage and persistence of the non-violent resisters will call forth the admiration of the soldiers and onlookers or general public. All parties begin to feel that the authorities have chosen the wrong method. They tend to feel that this is a matter for a court or arbitration or discussion. This feeling makes rifts between privates and officers and the higher command or civilian authorities.

If the situation drags on for weeks or months, the officers become even more restive. It is undignified to have to proceed thus against harmless, decent, defenceless people. They begin to feel themselves in a ludicrous position;—unfairly treated. Neither the officers nor the privates can

feel that they are protecting anyone or any property.<sup>16</sup> That consciousness tends to lower self-respect.

Perhaps there has been a campaign to make the non-violent resisters seem despicable. They have perhaps been accused of bodily uncleanness, dirt, disorder, illiteracy, ignorance, bad manners, mental and moral degeneracy. They are said to be "beyond the pale", "barbarous", "beneath contempt", etc., etc. We all know that method of bolstering up one's own pride and self-esteem. It is easy to find faults in a stranger, or differences that seem like faults; and a little unconscious Phariseism helps immensely to increase one's morale and salve one's conscience. But the soldiers in immediate contact with the non-violent resisters may find that in fact they are clean, orderly, well disciplined, determined, intelligent, "very decent" in behaviour, and very courageous. It is impossible to be contemptuous of such men. And when respect begins, the instinct for fair play asserts itself. And by that time, morale is not very prominent. That such things can happen even in far more unlikely circumstances is proved by the fraternising between the German and Allied troops on the first Christmas of the World War. If at the beginning the non-violent resisters are not very well disciplined, yet faithful to their ideal, their discipline will grow.

This realisation by the soldiers that the character of the resisters is different from and finer than they (the soldiers) had been led to believe, makes the soldiers see that their superiors

were either mistaken or were not telling the truth. This creates a slight feeling of uncertainty among the soldiers and somewhat lowers their respect for their superiors, and hence is a step toward lower morale.

Perhaps one of the officers loses his head, or believes in "making an example" and teaching by terror, and orders the soldiers to fire on the unarmed non-violent civil resisters, and many are wounded and killed. The effect is indeed electrical. The immediate beholders may be terror-stricken for a short time. But the news inevitably spreads, and the public indignation against the officer and soldiers will be overpowering. This was the case with the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy in India. The hundreds who died there did more by the manner of their death to lower British self-respect and British prestige in every country, and to further the cause of Indian political freedom than could the deaths of thrice that number in violent rioting or attack upon the army. There have undoubtedly been similar cases of violence by American troops, French troops, troops of any and every nation which likes to consider itself a "trustee" for other nations, tribes or races. A similar instance occurred in the United States in the winter of 1929, when Pennsylvania coal company police killed a miner on strike. Such deeds are not peculiar to any nation but only to a particular purpose and set of beliefs. The point to be emphasised, however, is that non-violent resistance, even in the extreme case where its users are killed, has a far higher probability of weakening

the morale of the violent opponents [and of promoting the aim sought for than violent resistance would have.

If the Government uses police instead of soldiers, this process of morale destruction will operate somewhat differently. Police are usually drafted from the same district where they work, and so are not apt to be so prejudiced. They are more apt to be married men and so, through their wives, are more open to public opinion. If many new police are drafted, their discipline will be weak and they will be apt to indulge in excesses which will rouse public opinion against the Government as well as themselves.

As we are trying to be realists, let us also see what might happen where the soldiers use poison gas, either of a disabling or lethal kind, or bomb attacks by aeroplanes. This might not be a frequent occurrence, as the previous non-violence would not be apt to incite such an act from the soldiers. But it has happened. In such an event there would temporarily cease to be direct effective contact between the soldiers and the non-violent resisters. Therefore, the morale of the soldiers would probably not be weakened. But such an attack would add so many sympathisers to the ranks of the non-resisters from among their own people, that a very complete and effective trade boycott and strike of domestic or industrial work could be organised.<sup>17</sup> The economic pressure of such boycotts needs no very direct contact to be effective. Indeed it is evidence of economic and social separation. It is felt tens of thousands



of miles away, in the most distant countries, and causes far greater losses to such violent people than any temporary advantage from their terrorism. It lowers their prestige everywhere, and makes such tactics less probable in the future. And the reduction in number of such events gives the non-violent resisters other opportunities to weaken their opponents' morale.

The well-known British military authority, Captain B. H. Liddell Hart, states that:

"In reality it is more fruitful, from the military point of view, to wound than to kill. While the dead man lies still, counting only one man less, the wounded man is a progressive drain upon his sides. Comrades are often called upon to bandage him, sometimes even to accompany him to the rear; stretcher-bearers and ambulance drivers to carry him back. Doctors and orderlies must tend him in hospital. And on his passage thither, the sight of him tends to spread depression among the beholders, acting on morale like the drops of cold water which imperceptibly wear away the stone."<sup>18</sup>

But this is not true where the wounded are non-violent resisters. The non-violent resister shows a greater unselfishness, a loftier courage, and a deeper conviction than the violent soldier. Therefore the sight of the non-violent wounded creates a purer, wider, more active and more enduring sympathy and unity with their cause than does the sight of wounded soldiers. In non-violent resistance the suffering is itself a

weapon or means of winning. Hence, such casualties do not decrease the morale of the non-violent resisters. Similarly, when non-violent resisters are imprisoned they are not thereby "put out of commission" or rendered useless to their cause. Instead, their endurance of hardship increases the general sense of human unity and sympathy for their cause.

Inasmuch as the government of those soldiers in question is seeking to impose its will upon the non-violent resisters, there will necessarily be parleys sooner or later between the non-violent resisters' leaders and the officers of that army or emissaries from that government. Such parleys mean contact, and contact means an opportunity further to convert the opponents, or, in military parlance, to alter their morale.<sup>19</sup> Whenever the violent opponents ask to negotiate, the leaders of the non-violent party will enter into negotiations even though it may seem that by refusing to do so and going on with the struggle the violent opponents may be compelled to yield, and even though the request may be or seem to be a stratagem on the part of the opponents to gain time or to break up the unity of the non-violent party. This willingness to negotiate proves to the violent opponent and to the world that the non-violent resisters are not seeking to humiliate their opponents, and thus paves the way for the conversion of the opponents and for the only kind of a victory worth having. An example of this was Gandhi's negotiations with the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, during the Indian struggle of 1930-1931.

It should be remembered that ruthless deeds tend to become known to the world at large and then to lessen the respect of other nations for the nation indulging in them. A decrease of prestige is not relished by any nation nowadays. The government in question, besides receiving foreign censure, will be severely criticised by its own more decent citizens. They may create very considerable pressure of public opinion against the government and compel it to alter its tactics. It is true that distant civilians who have been blinded by their own pride and long continued propaganda are very often harder to touch than the hostile soldiers on the spot. The arm-chair warriors at home during the World War were unbelievably cruel and hard, and worse in America than in England or France because they were farther away and felt realities less. Yet once their morale gets a little undermined, they crumble rapidly, for they have not been subjected to the discipline of soldiers.

The experienced person will say that such events are always hidden by the censorship of such a government. Sometimes this is so. The news of Jallianwala Bagh at Amritsar in India did not reach the United States for eight months after the event. Acts of the American marines in Haiti and Nicaragua were hidden in this way for months. But the tendency is for such news to leak out sooner or later. People of all nationalities go to all parts of the world nowadays. Travel and trade are ubiquitous. Newspaper reporters are always keen for scenting a "story", and as soon as they learn of a censorship anywhere they are

still more eager. The modern press services have long stimulated people's curiosity. And if curiosity finds itself balked or thwarted, it will never rest till the story is known. And Western nations are all so jealous of one another that each is eager to learn and publish something discreditable to the others. (I am not trying to criticise, but merely to state facts,—weaknesses among those who are addicted to violence, against which the stronger forces of non-violence will effectively operate.) Any considerable struggle in which one side rigidly sticks to non-violent resistance with any degree of success makes wonderful news. It is so unusual and dramatic. Newspaper reporters and correspondents have a sense of "news value", and can be trusted to try hard to evade government censorship. The mere knowledge that censorship has been employed arouses doubt in neutral minds of the violent assailant's case. If, in the area where the struggle goes on, the opposing government does not permit the newspapers to publish adequate news of the struggle, the people cease to believe the official statements, and give credence instead to oral rumour or information passed about among themselves.

Of course powerful ruling groups and countries rely chiefly on pride, disdain and disgust to censor the news. They or their supporters vilify these protesting groups or nations, and the general repugnance thereby created acts as a screen against the truth.

"Repugnance, Disgust and Contempt tend to arrest and detain attention on the things which excite them only

so long as may be necessary to avoid them. Repugnance, Disgust and Contempt tend to exclude wonder in relation to their objects . . . Disgust tends to exclude curiosity about its object and all further knowledge of it. . . . Disgust tends to repress pity and all disinterested sorrow on behalf of its object."<sup>20</sup>

Many a trade unionist knows the truth of this out of his own hard experience. So also do the Negroes, Chinese and Indians, poor immigrants in the United States, and many others. Intelligent people all over the world should be very much on their guard when they see any disdainful or vilifying newspaper stories, articles or books about any group or nation other than their own, or any statements making subtle, invidious comparisons between other people and themselves. Beware of self-flattery! Whether or not such articles or books or accounts were written or told intentionally or innocently, the result is to hide the more important facts and truths in the situation. I do not mean that one should not see all aspects of every situation fully and clearly, but one should merely bear in mind that adverse criticism is dangerous to the person who uses it or absorbs it.

But any oppressed groups anywhere may also be sure that sincere prolonged non-violent resistance on their own part will surely break down barriers and rouse enough curiosity, respect and wonder, to reveal at least a part of the truth and thus effect a more satisfactory adjustment of the conflict.

In non-violent resistance as practised by Gandhi there is another element which serves to

weaken censorship. That is his rigid adherence to truth. He has never tolerated secrecy of any sort. He has invited the police to meetings and answered all their questions fully. He has always notified the authorities amply in advance of any action he planned to take which might affect them, and has been frank as to his beliefs and position.<sup>20a</sup> Examples of this may be found in his campaign in Champaran, his long letter to the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, in March, 1930, and his telegrams to the Viceroy, Lord Willingdon, in December, 1931 and January, 1932. Such a policy gives the public full advance notice of what is likely to take place, and thus makes a subsequent censorship much more difficult to maintain.<sup>20a</sup> Clean fighting such as this retains every moral advantage of the noblest chivalry.<sup>21</sup> Secrecy would indicate or seem to indicate fear as well as untruth, or suggest them with the effect of auto-suggestion, and thus would spoil the morale of the resisters and deprive the method of its power.<sup>21a</sup>

But the non-violent resisters must realise that they cannot decrease the prestige of their opponents or create dissension among their opponents' supporters until they break through the censorship of governments, press associations, or popular disdain; that they cannot break through these censorships until they have conducted themselves with high excellence, discipline, unity, coherence, cleanness and courage so as to compel respect, admiration and wonder. Therefore their chief efforts should be not in talking to reporters or

appealing for help from outsiders, but with themselves, to increase their own discipline and organisation, their courage and courtesy and intelligence and cleanness and order. They should strive for such details even as clean bodies, clean clothes, clean houses, clean streets, clean talk. These create self-respect and respect from others. Military discipline is thorough and detailed like this. Non-violent discipline must be the same. Such resisters must realise that if ever they fail in their discipline and fall into violence, untruth, secrecy or disorder, they set back their cause and delay their victory; and if they do not recover their discipline, they will suffer complete defeat. For these reasons there is need for the utmost energy and determination and persistence and will-power on the part of non-violent resisters, whether they be national groups or labour unions or what not. This discipline, chiefly directed toward themselves, will not arouse outside opposition. They will compel respect when they deserve it and not before. And when they can compel respect they are on the road to upsetting their opponents' morale.

One more policy of ruthlessness must be considered, namely that of starvation. This was used against the Germans with fearful effect in the World War. But it is a weapon that cuts both ways. It not only weakened the Germans greatly during the war but so interfered with their recuperative ability after the "peace" that it reduced the prosperity of the whole world. The Allied bankers and merchants are still suffering

from the loss of German purchasing power. Even the militarists are beginning to realise this.<sup>22</sup> The great naval nations will hesitate before they try that weapon against a whole nation.

Against smaller groups a government might attempt starvation, but if such groups are really in earnest, have a good cause, and maintain good discipline, their resistance will surely affect public opinion and lower the morale of their opponents. Compare, for instance, the effect of McSwiney's hunger strike in prison during the Irish struggle for freedom.

Any persons who feel aggrieved by the policies of the ruling groups of either the British Empire or the United States may count on help from the strong desire of the peoples of those countries always to justify their conduct morally, to give it at least a moral tone or appearance.<sup>23</sup> When the Germans invaded Belgium in 1914, Britain and the Allies used this violation of treaty to stiffen their own morale and secure help from neutrals. It enabled them to play the part of chivalrous defenders of the weak.<sup>24</sup> It served to cover up many mistakes, faults and evils of the Allies, and kept them all feeling splendidly self-righteous for several years, at least till the secret treaties leaked out. The political effect of this attitude of mind is a desire for and reliance upon prestige,—a superiority-complex which is designed to create an inferiority-complex among other nations or races, and thus make easier the task of dominating.



The maintenance of this prestige requires respect or awe or fear from others. Now if any of these Anglo-Saxon governments or ruling groups engage in harsh violence against a group of truly non-violent resisters, the news surely leaks out sooner or later and lessens the prestige of that ruling group in the eyes of the rest of the world. Also in the eyes of the more honest and intelligent persons in the nation in question. The highly moral attitude and tone of the professions of that government begin to look thin and ludicrous. Dignity and prestige are shaken. There is a weakening of the morale of that governing group. Public opinion today all over the world condemns ruthless violence and cruelty as such, once the cloak of disgust, disdain or fear propaganda has been removed. We are no longer living in the days of Jenghiz Khan or Attila or Nebuchadnezzar. The way in which the world responded to the German attack on Belgium proves this, wholly aside from any question as to the Allies' sincerity in playing on the appeal. Thus the need of those who rely on prestige, for respect from the rest of the world, becomes a weak spot in their armour, the minute they do an act which does not deserve or actually win respect. The non-violent resisters' weapon of love of truth is directed immediately at this weak spot and pushed home with all courage and fortitude.

We can now see that non-violent resistance "reduces the utility of armaments as instruments of policy," to use de Madariaga's phrase.<sup>25</sup> It does so partly in direct and positive manner, proposing

and aiding in the creation of new terms of settlement, new roads out of conflict. It also does so by disintegrating the morale of the opponents,—the morale of troops, of commanders, of civil authorities and of their home civilian populations. It acts like the negotiations at Brest-Litovsk to raise opposition at home to the policy of the opposing government. The breakdown of the violent opponent's morale is really a change of heart. He does not merely become discouraged about fighting or about his power. He ceases to want in the same way the things he wanted before; ceases to maintain his former attitude toward the resisters; he undergoes a sort of inner conversion. In the case of a very proud and obstinate opponent there might have to be a complete outward defeat before the change of heart really takes place, but such a change is sure to come. In case of industrial strikes, non-violent resistance would tend to raise doubts in the minds of the stockholders of the corporation involved. It tends to lower the prestige of any controlling power or group who are not acting as absolutely sensitive and true servants of the people within their governance.

A military writer states that :

“The principle of demoralisation has for its object the destruction of this morale : first, in the moral attack against the spirit and nerves of the enemy's nation and government; secondly, against this nation's policy; thirdly, against the plan of its commander-in-chief; and fourthly, against the morale of the soldiers commanded by him. Hitherto, the fourth, the least important of these

objectives, has been considered by the traditionally-minded soldier as the sole psychological objective of this great principle. In the last great war the result of this was—that the attack on the remaining three only slowly evolved during days of stress and because of a faulty appreciation of this principle during peace time.”<sup>26</sup>

Non-violent resistance operates to lower all these different kinds of morale, and it may be effectively aided by economic boycotts or in some extreme instances perhaps by non-payment of taxes.

We see, therefore, that non-violent resistance is not wholly unlike the principles of military demoralisation. It is merely a step further in the logic, and in military history.

Besides decreasing the opponent's morale, mass non-violent resistance does much to enhance the morale and unity of those who use it. We have noted the unifying effect of the sight of voluntary suffering. This operates not only upon the resisters themselves but also, by sympathy, upon all beholders who hitherto may have been neutral. This happened in India in 1930 and is now happening there again. The sincerity and earnestness of the sufferers, if the suffering continues long, convinces many others and wins them over to support the cause. The sight of leaders themselves enduring hardships, insults and wounds, going to jail, sacrificing their fortunes and lives for their cause is far more potent to produce increase of numbers, unity, enthusiasm, devotion and increase of effort than the sight, in violent war, of generals and politicians dwelling in comfort

and safety and telling others what to do and how to fight. "The blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church," and the same result comes in any situation where non-violent methods are steadily used.

In situations where there is such rigid government censorship that little news of the oppression and violence of soldiers and police against the non-violent resisters gets to the outside world, this unifying effect and winning of sympathy from neutral or timid onlookers is very important. The example of steady, long-continued non-violent resistance creates within the censored area a public opinion that compels aid from all sorts of men who may have been entirely and strongly opposed to the resisters. Intellectual reasons for not joining the group crumble away, sometimes slowly, sometimes quickly. The feelings engendered by the prolonged sight of non-violent suffering for a cause ends differences of mind and also of feeling.

If it is a national struggle or among a large number of people containing many diverse elements separated by old social fissures or badly disturbed by the recent impact of a different culture, it may take many months for the unifying effect of non-violent resistance and its search for social truth to go far enough to bring success. Nevertheless, the process is sure and, if the method is faithfully adhered to, the result certain.

It may be that while the resisters are in jail, some of the conservative, selfish or comfort-loving members of their general group engage in "politics" and palaver with the opponents. As

that sort of thing goes on, perhaps for months, the contrast between them and those who are suffering jail terms and hardships grows so glaring that more and more people turn away in disgust and mistrust from the politicians and pin their faith on those who are in jail. The politicians sense this loss of their prestige and are in turn compelled to follow the crowd and cease co-operating with the opponents.

This unifying power of non-violent resistance may often take effect more rapidly than does the breaking down of the morale of the opponents. It is also a factor in that loss of morale. As time goes on, the access of numbers and strength and unity in the group of non-violent resisters begins to impress the violent opponents, to fill them with misgivings, and thus to injure their morale still further. Strength compels respect, and in this case the respect is for moral qualities as well as for numbers or political power.

War also acts to unify nations engaged in it. But the unity engendered by non-violent resistance is deeper, more closely knit and more permanent than that produced by war, for reasons already discussed.

If, as often happens,<sup>27</sup> the group or nation which is using non-violent resistance has been under political, economic or social subjection for many years and has therefore lost much self-confidence, self-reliance and self-respect, and suffers from what the psychologists call an "inferiority complex", this new method of struggle tends to put an end to that weakness. The contrast

between the brutal deeds of the exasperated violent party and the non-violent sufferings of the resisters is so startling as to produce in the ranks of the resisters a feeling of immense moral superiority. Presently the rage of the violent party leads them to make false statements or commit various stupidities which make the resisters realise that their superiority is intellectual as well as moral. This intellectual contrast grows still more marked if the resisters adhere faithfully to truth in all their words as well as actions. If the stimulus of these contrasts is continued long enough, the inferiority-complex of the resisters' group vanishes and their self-respect, self-confidence and self-reliance steadily increase. Thus another element of their former disadvantage is done away with. Students of psychology have now learned what the guiding minds of the ruling classes have known for centuries,—that an inferiority complex firmly created in childhood and judiciously maintained by regular stimulus through the period of development, is the most potent of all methods to restrain independent creative action among individuals and masses of people. It makes them feel utterly helpless and deprives them of hope, imagination or will even to try to struggle, and in times of crisis it creates a fatal hesitation and lack of confidence. Hence this creative power of non-violent resistance, putting an end to inferiority-complexes, makes it a very important weapon for oppressed nations, classes and groups everywhere.

Another reason why mass non-violent resistance is effective is because in course of time

it wins for its users the support of public opinion just as in the case of its individual use. It is well known that the gaining of public opinion is one of the principal objects of war.<sup>28</sup> That was the object of all the propaganda in the World War. The immensely greater part that propaganda played then in comparison with previous wars shows the increasing importance of public opinion in large conflicts.<sup>29</sup>

Victories in war are imposing and terrifying, but the alliances and co-operations gained thereby are notoriously unstable. Such allies come more because it seems expedient than because they really want to. A victory by non-violent resistance does not carry with it a further latent threat to harm anyone. It carries conviction of sincerity and friendship, whereas a victory through violence always has in it at least a suspicion of selfishness and possible further aggrandisement. In quality a victory by non-violent resistance is far more gallant and joyous than one by violence can ever be. It requires no lying or distortion or suppression of the truth, no slaughter or threats. It leaves no bad conscience or bad taste in the mouth. The public opinion it gains is weighty and lasting.

Still another way in which mass non-violent resistance operates is to end and clear away social defects, economic mistakes and political errors. The semi-military discipline of the resisters, the getting rid of bad habits, the learning to struggle without anger, the social unity developed, the emphasis on moral factors, the appeal to the finest

spirit of the opponents and onlookers, the generosity and kindness required,—all these constitute a social purification, a creation of truer values and actions among all concerned. If the struggle involves many people and lasts a long time, the discussion of the issues becomes so widespread and intense and detailed that much that was previously hidden or misunderstood is revealed and made clear to all. It is a period of great public education. The nature of the struggle and its prolongation bring into unmistakable action the real purpose of the two parties, and show a great many of the implications of their respective aims and attitudes not previously seen or understood. The struggle tests the sincerity of both parties. It corrects errors among the violent party, too. This evolution of more social truth is a gain to both sides. Like war, non-violent resistance is a method of deciding great public questions, and this clearing away of errors is an essential part of the settlement of such great disputes. "The truth shall make you free" is no mere sentiment. When truth is more nearly approximated in action there is a tremendous gain in strength as well as a liberation. Although a long war also clears away some social, economic and political errors it is not very effective for this purpose because the angers and hatreds of war tend strongly to becloud the truth, as was clearly shown by the propaganda of the World War.

Possibly to some readers this whole chapter may seem to be a structure of untried theory.



Who in this actual world of hard realities does or ever would for an instant fear this so-called weapon of non-violent resistance?

The answer is known to every student of history, every detective, secret-service man or C. I. D. officer, every really "hard-boiled" ruthless executive of an industrial corporation which has had a strike of employees, every leader of a subject people striving for political freedom. The answer is that every "blood and iron" type of governor fears non-violent resistance so much that he secretly hires so-called "agents provocateurs" who go among the non-violent resisters pretending to be of them, and invite them to deeds of violence or actually throw bombs or do deeds of violence themselves.<sup>30</sup> This was the method of the old Russian government under Tsardom. The rulers in power immediately make great outcry, stir up public indignation against the "miscreants," call out the police or soldiery, and "repress the uprising" with considerable brutality, meanwhile assuring the world that these are stern but necessary steps taken only in the interests of public safety, law and order. Those striving for freedom or more privileges are indeed often violent, in the first instance. But if they are not violent, their opponents or the underlings of their opponents frequently stir up violence in order to take advantage of the public reaction against it. That they feel they need to adopt such tactics shows how much they fear non-violent resistance.

Non-violent resisters must face this fact without anger or bitterness. It is simply one item in

the whole situation with which they have to contend. Their defence is to build up a thorough discipline of non-violence in feeling, thought, word, and deed amongst every one of their members. They must see the whole meaning of what they are trying to do. They are trying to discipline and control the emotion of anger and the instinct of pugnacity in the same way and to the same extent that military discipline controls the emotion of fear and the instinct of flight. Therefore under this new discipline, violent words and actions directed against the opponent or his interests are to be made as traitorous to the cause as running away is in the army. Anger is to become as disgraceful and socially reprehensible as cowardice is now among schoolboys or soldiers.

Once that understanding and attitude and discipline are attained among the group of non-violent resisters, any agent provocateur who comes whispering among them or preaching violence, retaliation or revenge will be immediately known for what he is, and repudiated. And the group will soon prove its tactics so clearly to the public that the latter will not be deceived by the act of an agent provocateur bomb thrower or inflammatory speaker.

"But," says the shrewd critic, "even if we grant the efficiency of this new weapon provided it could once get under way; would it not quickly be rendered impossible merely by imprisonment or deportation for life of the few leaders who understand it and see its possibilities?" The answer again is, No. The idea has already gone

too far. New leaders would spring up as fast as you arrest the old ones. Further, nowadays you cannot go on indefinitely arresting large numbers of quiet, steady, industrious, gentle people for nothing. Non-violence is decency to the nth power. Governments, after all, have to make some appearance of existing for the welfare of their peoples. Wholesale arrests for the practice of virtue cannot continue very long. The example of those few leaders is so striking that their execution or life imprisonment would be dangerous to governments and government prestige.

It may be urged that non-violent resistance would fail if attempted against armies of certain nations with a reputation of ruthlessness and callous brutality. Undoubtedly in such a case there would be losses, and perhaps heavy ones. The history of Cromwell's conquest of Ireland, and the record of the laws and punishments of those days show clearly that the English in that century were brutal and callous, yet the non-violent resistance of the Quakers prevailed against them. Even barbarians respect courage, and are perhaps more easily subject to wonder and awe in the face of extraordinary events than are the more sophisticated or more highly organised nations.<sup>31</sup> Non-violent resistance touches human nature itself, not merely its cultured areas. The psychological forces in non-violent resistance would operate in different ways in different nations, but they will operate effectively against them all, as surely as violent war has operated against them all.

## CHAPTER VII

### AN EFFECTIVE SUBSTITUTE FOR WAR

DESPITE the horrors, futilities and destructiveness of war there are nevertheless certain virtues and truths associated with it which humanity cannot afford to lose. In any discussion of new methods of settling conflicts, these military virtues cannot be disregarded.

The romance of war is an undoubted fact, especially for those who have never taken part in modern war. There is in all hearts a desire to live a significant life, to serve a great idea and sacrifice oneself for a noble cause, to feel the thrill of spiritual unity with one's fellows and to act in accordance therewith. We all wish for strenuous action and the exercise of courage and fortitude, to be carried away by the enthusiasm of daring. We all love to undergo a common discipline and hardship for the sake of a fine ideal; to be in good effective order; to be strong, generous and self-reliant; to be physically fit,—with body, mind and soul harmoniously working together for a great purpose,—thus becoming a channel of immense energies. Under such conditions the whole personality would be alert, conscious, unified, and living profoundly, richly and exaltedly. Then one could be truly and gloriously happy. Martial music suggests many of these elements and their consequent exhilaration and exaltation.

Probably war and conflict seem to promise such results partly because our ordinary life of alleged peace is so often dull, trivial, monotonous and devoid of fine purpose. It is so full of frustration, balked disposition, hidden violence, oppression and meanness; so insipid, empty, fragmentary, full of cross-purposes and evil.

"Such a hopeless tangle. Anything to be relieved of such a mess." So cries the heart. Yet what a risk, to wrench ourselves from established life.

One reason why we take such deep delight in risk attending the search for this release is that such adventures turn possibilities into accomplished facts. They are modes of creation, of "free activity of the soul", as von Clausewitz says. Hence, after men have long been chained to an industrial routine, feeling themselves helpless cogs in a vast machine, the call of an immeasurable risk cannot easily be resisted. But violence and war are attractive not merely for their romance; they also have solid elements of truth and virtue.

The most outstanding virtue of violence is that of courage. But violence is not the only occasion or test or proof of courage.

Another virtue is energy. All the deep emotions, especially fear and anger, are generators of tremendous energy. To be a channel of immense energy gives one a thrill and a satisfaction that can never be forgotten. Fear, anger and hatred are doubtless evil, but the energy that they arouse is, by itself, good; for as William Blake said, energy is divine.

Furthermore, the sincerity of fighters and warriors is admirable. They live and work, sacrifice and die for their vision of the truth, even though they may be too inarticulate to express it in words. The militarist's vision of truth may be partial and cloudy, but nevertheless he lives, suffers and dies for the truth as he sees it. He may even be inspired by hatred, anger, and revenge, and may put his whole faith in material weapons, but he is true to himself and the faith that is in him. That much is fine and solid.

Another virtue of the militarists which deserves our admiration is discipline. Discipline establishes and maintains effective habits, creates solidarity and reliability, promotes self-respect and respect from others.<sup>1</sup>

The militarist is right when he says that conflict is an inevitable part of life. This world is inherently diverse and changing; and since human beings differ so much in the values they hold, in environment, inheritance, intelligence, tolerance, and unselfishness, and are so bound by tradition and habit, the adjustments involved in change and growth necessarily result in conflicts. No strong or sensible person would want to abolish growth or change or the positive achievements that often issue from struggle. Struggle is a part of the very meaning of life.

These, then, seem to be the important virtues of the violent fighter,—enterprise, courage, strenuous action, and endurance; sincerity, devotion, and a sense of unity with one's own kind; order, training and discipline. His truth that conflict

is inevitable is another element of his strength.

Our examination of the processes of non-violent resistance enables us now to realise that all these virtues and truths of war are given full scope and exercise in this new method of settling great disputes. If any nation or group adopts mass non-violent resistance, there will be no moral losses resulting.

Mr. Walter Lippmann, in an excellent article on "The Political Equivalent of War,"<sup>2</sup> quotes from William James' essay on "A moral Equivalent for War", and continues:

"It is not sufficient to propose an equivalent for the military virtues. It is even more important to work out an equivalent for the military methods and objectives. For the institution of war is not merely an expression of the military spirit. It is not a mere release of certain subjective impulses clamouring for expression. It is also—and, I think, primarily—one of the ways by which great human decisions are made. If that is true, then the abolition of war depends primarily upon inventing and organising other ways of deciding those issues which hitherto have been decided by war. . . .

"Any real programme of peace must rest on the premise that there will be causes of dispute as long as we can foresee, and that those disputes have to be decided, and that a way of deciding them must be found which is not war."

"A way of deciding them which is not war." Is that way non-violent resistance? Closer examination shows that it satisfies Mr. Lippmann's requirements. Non-violent resistance not only utilises the military virtues, it uses also on a

moral plane many of the military methods and principles, it employs many of the same psychological processes, and even retains some of the military objectives with moral modifications. Military men know much about human nature, but non-violent resisters know still more. If war has been in the past a practical method of making great human decisions, of settling great disputes, this new method will be still more effective for such a purpose.

The very principles of military strategy operate in this new mode of struggle.

Von Clausewitz's principles of war have been summarised,<sup>3</sup> as follows :

"Retaining the initiative, using the defensive as the decisive form of action, concentration of force at the decisive point, the determination of that point, the superiority of the moral factor to purely material resources, the proper relation between attack and defence, and the will to victory."

Other authorities state them somewhat differently; Foch, for instance, laying more stress on the offensive.<sup>4</sup>

We have seen that the non-violent resister begins an entirely new line of conduct. He seizes and maintains the moral initiative. He uses the principle of surprise most effectively.<sup>5</sup> Von Clausewitz said: "Surprise plays a much greater part in strategy than in tactics; it is the most powerful element of victory," and a long line of military authorities agree.<sup>6</sup>

The surprise of non-violent resistance is effective partly because it is startling and partly



because the opponent is so bound by his violent habits that he is ill-prepared to utilise the new tactics himself. He is like a wrestler using European methods pitted against a Japanese using jiu-jitsu. The surprise of non-violent resistance, unlike that of war, is not due to deceit or stratagem but simply to its novelty and daring.

Napoleon stated:<sup>7</sup>

"It is an approved maxim in war, never to do what the enemy wishes you to do; for this reason alone, that he desires it. A field of battle, therefore, which he has previously studied and reconnoitred, should be avoided, and double care should be taken where he has time to fortify and entrench. One consequence deducible from his principle is, never to attack a position in front which you can gain by turning."

Non-violent resistance acts fully in accord with Napoleon's principle. Your violent opponent wants you to fight in the way to which he is accustomed. If you utterly decline, and adopt a method wholly new to him, you have thereby gained an immediate tactical advantage.

In "using the defensive as the decisive form of action," the peaceful resister in his external actions agrees with von Clausewitz, but in respect to his psychological energies he agrees with Foch; he is constantly "attacking", that is, energetically seeking the psychological road for a truly satisfactory solution of the conflict. His energy is not used so much in opposition as in trying to open new and adequate and wise channels for the energies of both his opponents and himself to unite in and flow on together, and in removing

defects from his own position. Non-violent resistance is not directed against the *energy* of the opponent's desires but merely against their immediate direction, form or method. It seeks to discover for him a new and wiser channel for his energy.

Yet this does not mean reducing the conflict to a tame debating society. Although sometimes a safe and easy issue of the conflict may be found, the non-violent resister may feel assured of a fair probability that he will sooner or later have to suffer hardships, and perhaps wounds, imprisonment and even death. If the struggle is against a powerful group or corporation or a government, and is prolonged, the resisters may have to suffer horrible tortures and bestial treatment. "War is hell," and in a big struggle soldiers and police abandon all restraints. We assume that the peaceful resister is really in earnest, really believes in his cause, is ready to sacrifice for it, and is no more a coward than any soldier is. He must take risks. This is a real adventure,—no parlour make-believe for pretenders or boasters.

But non-violent resistance differs in one psychological respect from war. The object is not to make the opponent believe that he is crushed and beaten and humiliated, but to persuade him to realise that he can attain security, or whatever else his ultimate desire may be, by easier and surer means than he saw formerly. The effort is furthermore to help him work out such new means, not rigidly or on any *a priori* plan, but flexibly in accordance with the deepest growing truth of the

entire situation in all its bearings. The opponent's courage is not destroyed, but merely his belief that his will and desire must be satisfied only in *his* way is altered, and he is led to see the situation in a broader, more fundamental and far-sighted way, so as to work out a solution which will satisfy or more nearly satisfy both parties.

Does the non-violent resister "concentrate his force at the decisive point", and is he active in "the determination of that point"? He certainly is. He decides, with Marshal de Saxe, that "The secret of victory lies in the hearts of human beings,"<sup>8</sup> that is, that it is a matter of psychology. Therefore he concentrates upon the psychological forces in the situation, and deals with them as efficiently and powerfully as he possibly can. And in so far as concentration means bringing strength to bear against weakness, he does that also, for in this moral or psychological field he is far stronger and better prepared than his opponent.

We need not dilate further upon the belief and action of the non-violent resister, in respect to the principle of the "superiority of the moral factor to purely material resources." He acts more sincerely upon that principle than did any soldier ever yet born.

"The proper relation between attack and defence" has been very searchingly considered by the peaceful resister.<sup>9</sup> He knows that the best relation of all between these two energies is not one of opposition but of resolution, integration and sublimation. He thus enables both sides to win, and conquers both his own possible short-

sightedness of aim and that of his enemy at the same time. The result is not a triumphant victor on the one side and a despondent repressed vanquished on the other. Both sides are happy in the joint victory of their more important selves and the common defeat or their mistakes.

Does the peaceful resister have the "will to conquer" which Foch calls "the first condition of victory"?<sup>10</sup> He surely does. Indeed, he must have an indomitable will to victory in order to endure the suffering put upon him. Moreover, he has a stronger incentive to win than has the ordinary soldier in war, for by this new way the final result is *sure* and settled permanently, and with a great release of energy and happiness for all concerned. No aftermath of resentment, hatred, bitterness, or revenge. No necessity for further threats or force.

The value of information is stressed by some modern military strategists. The non-violent resister has the most important information of all, namely, in regard to the working of the human heart. With that he needs little else.

There are other principles of strategy which also find parallels here,—such principles as those of the economy of forces, security, mobility, endurance, etc.—but we need not discuss all these. The similarities to the principles of military strategy are clear.

But the similarities between war and non-violent resistance are not merely an interesting set of analogies. This entire chapter to this point answers two doubts,—namely, whether this method of struggle is not utterly foreign and new and

suited only to Oriental peoples, and therefore whether it could be adopted by people with the modern Western attitude of mind. The facts that the military virtues are used and needed in this new form of struggle, and that the principles of military strategy apply here too, show that if we adopt this new mode of settling conflicts we will not be entirely reversing our previous experience, we will not be abandoning the true principles and values that the human race has garnered from its age-long experience of war. It may be that for its first great mass success non-violent resistance had to be used among a people who have much social awareness and who had been thoroughly inculcated and disciplined for many centuries with ideas of non-violence, as the Indians with their Buddhist, Jain and Hindu tradition have been. But after its first success, a desire to use it will arise in other countries, and its rationale will come to be understood. Given desire and understanding, the courage, organising ability, and disciplinary capacity of Western peoples is not less than that of Indians. Hence the use of the method may be expected to spread. The new method is an advance, an improvement in the art of deciding public disputes, but not so utterly foreign as to be unworkable by Western peoples. By fully understanding these relationships between war and non-violent resistance we may provide ourselves an assurance with which we may advance to this new procedure.

In cases where Asiatics have tried to relieve themselves of the economic and military pressure

of European domination they have complained that the West cannot understand any language but that of force. If that is true, it means that the West will be utterly unprepared and helpless in the face of well-disciplined, thoroughly organised and wisely led non-violent resistance, especially if it is accompanied by an equally thorough temporary non-vindictive economic boycott. The strategic principle of surprise would operate most dramatically and effectively. To use non-violent resistance against the West would be complying with Napoleon's Sixteenth Maxim of War quoted above. But I am inclined to think that the West will come to understand the new language fairly soon, once it is shown to be strong language. The quotation from Sir George Lloyd referred to in the previous chapter seems to indicate a partial understanding of the new language, and considerable worry to boot. The West is in this respect something like a baby who begins to understand what words mean before he can say any of them himself. And there can be no doubt that the West understands the language of economic boycott and decreasing profits reasonably well. No doubt the West is reluctant to alter its ways, but that is a different matter. To the extent that the West does come to understand the new language more deeply, its advance will make settlements and readjustments quicker and easier.

If in some future conflict both sides should use non-violent resistance, that side would win which most deeply understands and is best disciplined and prepared in this new method.

That would be the side which achieved the most self-purification, which attained the most social truth and showed the finest love. It would thereby attain the greater inner unity and strength, the greater respect from its opponents and the public.

In summary, we see that non-violent resistance resembles war:

- (1) in having a psychological and moral aim and effect;
- (2) in having one similar purpose,—to win the support of public opinion;
- (3) in being a discipline of a parallel emotion and instinct;
- (4) in operating against the morale of the opponents;
- (5) in principles of strategy;
- (6) in being a method of settling great disputes and conflicts;
- (7) in requiring courage, dynamic energy, capacity to endure fatigue and suffering, self-sacrifice, self-control, chivalry, action;
- (8) in being positive and powerful;
- (9) in affording opportunity of service for a large idea, and for glory.

It does not avoid hardships, suffering, wounds or even death. In using it men and women may still risk their lives and fortunes and sacrifice all. Nevertheless the possibilities of casualties and death are greatly reduced under it, and they are all suffered voluntarily and not imposed by the non-violent resisters.

It is more efficient than war because it costs far less in money as well as in lives and suffering

Also usually it permits a large part of the agricultural and industrial work of the people to go on, and hence the life of the country can be maintained during the struggle.

It is again more efficient than war because "the legitimate object of war is a more perfect peace." If the peace after the war is to be better than that which preceded it, the psychological processes of the conflict must be such as will create a more perfect peace. You can't climb a mountain by constantly going down hill. Mutual violence inevitably breeds hatred, revenge and bitterness,—a poor foundation for a more perfect peace. The method of non-violent resistance, where there really is resistance, so as to bring all the issues out into the open, and a really new settlement worked out as nearly as possible in accord with the full truth of the issues at stake,—this method does not leave a sense of frustration and will bring a more perfect peace.

Considering the completeness of its effects, non-violent resistance is as quick and probably quicker than war by violence. It is a weapon that can be used equally well by small or large nations, small or large groups, by the economically weak and by the apparently strong, and even by individuals. It compels both sides and neutrals to seek the truth, whereas war blinds both sides and neutrals to the truth.

As we have already seen and will show further, non-violent resistance certainly produces less ill-effect, if any, than does violent war, and this decrease of ill-effects applies to the users of



non-violence, to the opposing side, and to society and the world at large.

May we not then fairly describe non-violent resistance as an effective substitute for war?

It is realistic in that it does not eliminate or attempt to eliminate possibilities of conflict and differences of interest, and includes *all* factors in the situation both material and imponderable, physical and psychological.<sup>10a</sup>

It does not require any nation to surrender any part of its real sovereignty or right of decision, as a real league of nations might. It does not surrender the right of self-defence, although it radically alters the nature of the defence. It requires no expensive weapons or armament, no drill grounds or secrecy. It does not demoralise those who take part in it, but leaves them finer men and women than when the struggle began.

Moreover, the method does not require the machinery of a government or a large wealthy organisation. It may be practised and skill may be acquired in it in every situation of life, at home and abroad, by men and women of any and all races, nations, tribes, groups, classes, or castes, young and old, rich and poor. That women take part in it is important. Indeed, they are more effective in it than most men.

Inasmuch as some of the elements involved are essentially the same as trust, they have the same energising effect as financial credit, only more so. Thus it stimulates and mobilises, during

the conflict and for a long time thereafter, all the idealism and energy of all groups and parties.

It is much superior to William James' detailed suggestions in his essay on "A Moral Equivalent for War," in that it does not require State organisation, direction or assistance; it is not used against the exterior forces and conditions of Nature but against human wrongs and evils. It is therefore much more dramatic and interesting and alluring, both for young men and old, and women, too. It has even more possibilities of high daring, adventure, risk, bravery, endurance, and truly fine and noble romance than any of the chivalrous violent fighting of by-gone ages.

May we not therefore say of it in the words which Marshal Foch used in reference to a different occasion: "The new kind of war has begun, the hearts of soldiers have become a new weapon."<sup>11</sup>

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE CLASS STRUGGLE AND NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE

VIOLENCE makes strange bed-fellows. It numbers among its adherents not only the staunch constitutionalists,—conservatives, die-hards, “one hundred per cent patriots,” fascists, and tories, but also the ardent revolutionists, — Communists, Bolsheviks, syndicalists, and some anarchists. The criticisms of this latter group against pacifism have been stated most ably by Lenin and Trotsky.<sup>1</sup> Of the two, Trotsky has argued out the question in greater detail, but both are full of vitriolic scorn for all pacifists.<sup>2</sup>

The Communists do not worship war as Bernhardt and a few others did. They look upon it as a terrible, inevitable, historical necessity, but they are so determined to win proletarian dominance that they grasp the weapon of violence and use it to the utmost and without any qualms. Yet they hope finally for peace.

Lenin found that “it was ‘a hellishly hard task’ to execute people, ‘ruthlessly to split skulls open,’ while the ultimate political ideal was, on the other hand, the fight against violence.”<sup>3</sup> In his essay on “Armaments and War”<sup>4</sup> he says: “Only after we have completely forced down and expropriated the bourgeoisie of the whole world and not of one country alone, will wars become impossible.” And again,—... “Only after the disarmament of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat

can the latter, without betraying its world historical task, throw armaments on the scrap heap, and it will do this,—but not till then.” In that same essay he spoke of “armament of the proletariat . . . as the only possible tactic prepared by, based on and forced upon us by the objective development of capitalistic militarism.”

Lenin evidently believed that sporadic, undisciplined violence was folly. When his older brother was executed for complicity in an attempt to bomb the Tsar of Russia, his conclusion was,—“No, we shall not go along that road. We need not go along that road.”<sup>5</sup>

In *The State and Revolution*<sup>6</sup> he says:

“Only in the Communist Society, when the resistance of the capitalists has finally been broken, when the capitalists have disappeared, when there are no longer any classes (that is, when there is no difference between the members of society in respect to their social means of production) only then ‘does the State disappear *and one can speak of freedom.*’ . . . And only then will democracy itself begin to wither away in virtue of the simple fact that, freed from capitalist slavery, from the innumerable horrors, savagery, absurdities and infamies of capitalist exploitation, people will gradually become accustomed to the observation of the elementary rules of social life, known for centuries, repeated for thousands of years in all sermons. They will become accustomed to their observance without force, without constraint, without subjection, without the special apparatus for compulsion which is called the State.”

From this it appears that Lenin thought of the revolution of the working classes as a war to end war.

War is merely the final outcome of many different processes of life.<sup>7</sup> It is swifter, more intense, franker, more dramatic and openly violent, and therefore more clearly terrible than our so-called "peace," but the fundamental assumptions, valuations and attitudes toward people and life are much the same in both our style of peace and war. War is the crisis of our kind of peace, and our kind of peace is a peace that tends to maintain and promote capitalism. As de Madariaga says: "Strictly speaking, we are permanently at war."<sup>7a</sup> Von Clausewitz defined war as the extreme form of human competition. Mr. J. L. Garvin states that "economics of capitalism are deeply involved with politics and all sociology."<sup>8</sup> Major-General Sir F. Maurice calls war "a social rather than a purely military development."<sup>9</sup> According to John Dewey,<sup>10</sup> war is "a function of social institutions." Our institutions are capitalistic. Thus there seems to be a close connection and similarity between the methods and attitudes of capitalism and those of war.<sup>11</sup>

Lenin agreed, asserting that,

"The war is not an accident, not a sin as is the idea of the Christian ministers (who preach patriotism, humanitarianism and peace no less eloquently than the opportunists); it is an inevitable stage of capitalism, it is a form of *capitalistic* life as natural as peace."<sup>11a</sup>

The same idea is woven through the background of many of Trotsky's writings, also those of Marx.

War and capitalism have very similar psychological roots and character.<sup>12</sup> J. M. Keynes,

one of the ablest protagonists of capitalism, says in effect that greed is the essence of capitalism.<sup>13</sup> Greed is in one sense an inverted fear, an attempt to provide against a possible insecurity or lack of power. Fear and greed are roots of war as well as of capitalism. As we see from our psychological chapters, both fear and greed are divisive motives. Slow-acting, intangible economic pressures are often just as violent in purpose and spirit as the swift physical violence of war.

Capitalism and war both regard and treat men chiefly as means to ulterior, and usually selfish, ends of those more powerful. Modern capitalism is "an economic system resting on the organisation of legally free wage-earners, for the purpose of pecuniary profit, by the owner of capital or his agents."<sup>14</sup>

While capitalism provides the materials and credit for modern war, modern war produces immense profits for capitalism. Modern war requires huge industrial establishments. Each helps the other. Though war is often waged for economic motives, capitalism is not the sole cause of war, for wars existed before capitalism. War is the elder brother, but both are in the same family, children of the same fundamental attitudes or assumptions about life. Both have the same ideology of compulsion and ruthlessness, the same unconscious assumptions and motives of divisiveness, and similar defects in their symbols.

If this be so, it would seem not only that war is an inevitable result and accompaniment of capitalism, but that, now that both are so mature,

capitalism might be an inevitable result and accompaniment of war. That is to say, if the workers elect to use war to attain their ends, they may eventually be sucked again into the whirlpool of capitalism. Is this the logical outcome of the Soviet attitude? Will they perhaps be driven toward State capitalism?

War involves a belief in human separateness, divisiveness, and disunity. The Communists profess to be aiming at an ultimate human unity. But it is impossible to attain unity through divisive means. In human affairs an end organically grows out of the series of acts which are regarded as means toward it. Thus the end as actually achieved always partakes of the nature of the means employed. Many entered upon the World War thinking that the end was to be justice and liberty. But the means employed changed all that and resulted in the treaty of Versailles and a million evils. Therefore, no matter how noble and beautiful the initial picture of our aim, we must be very careful not to employ bad means.

E. B. Holt explains this point as follows:

"... And these all hinge on the fallacy of ends: for a certain 'desirable end' a man will do this 'in itself objectionable' deed. But when the end is obtained he is grieved to discover that it turns out to be undesirable, and he finds that it is rendered undesirable because of the very deed by which he attained it. This has been through all the ages the dying plaint of unprincipled and 'successful' men. It is only a question, once more, of being wise and observant enough to foresee that the taint attaching to the means is going to linger on and infect

the end. The doctrine of the wish shows us that life is not lived for ends. Life is a process; it is a game to be played on the chessboard of facts. Its motion is forward; yet its motive power comes not from in front (from 'ends') but from behind, from the wishes, which are within ourselves."<sup>15</sup>

Since the wish decides all, the character of the wish determines the results. .

So ardent a revolutionist as Emma Goldman was recently reported to have said in a speech in London that "the most pernicious idea was that the end justified the means. Eventually the means became the end, and the real end continued to recede."<sup>15a</sup> Trotsky himself wrote, "Who aims at the end cannot reject the means,"<sup>16</sup> but apparently he did not realise how closely each qualifies the other. The inevitable outcome of a bad means is a bad end, so there is never justification for the doctrine that the end justifies the means.

Counter-violence against domestic oppression thwarts the users as much as the violence employed against them by the State. In being violent themselves, the people unconsciously make an agreement with the ruling class,—namely that violence is the surest way of settling conflict. They accept the values and technique of the system of violence, and are thereby bound by it. Hence they must do the will of those most skilful with the weapons of violence. Furthermore, if one accepts the weapons of violence and undergoes the training and discipline necessary for their skilled use, one becomes modified by it all and



one's inner attitudes, habits and purposes also become violent. This, taking place among many people, builds up a vested interest in violence,—a dangerous thing for the workers.<sup>17</sup>

We have learned that anger and fear are similar, and that anger will change to fear as soon as the angry person realises that his opponent has greater power than he has. If, then, the workers in any well-organised country, thinking that they are stronger than the capitalists, try to win a victory by violence, their violence will call forth the counter-violence of the ruling class and will also frighten the middle class into taking the side of the capitalists in order to have security. In Western industrialised countries the proportion of salaried workers who have a stake in the maintenance of the present state of affairs is growing and will supply an increasing proportion of the armies. As armies grow more highly mechanised the soldiers will grow more professional, so that the chances of permeating the armies secretly with revolutionary doctrines grow constantly slimmer. The control of the capitalists over the police, army, navy, autotransport, communications and press will soon demonstrate conclusively that at the game of violence the rulers are far more powerful than the workers.<sup>18</sup> As soon as that realisation comes home to the workers, their anger will inevitably turn into fear. Then, as they have no refuge, they are defeated. It is true, that did not happen in Russia, but the combination of circumstances that permitted an overturn in Russia was unique and is outside the

power of the workers alone to create. Hence, if the workers want to create a new and better society without waiting for another world war and a complete disorganisation of the ruling class, they must choose a method other than violence. By adopting a method that does not use anger, and indeed tries to abolish it, they will not be in danger of having anger change suddenly into fear and thus defeating them by the inescapable working of psychological processes. The only weapon for the poor is non-violent resistance. By its use they can bring the middle class over to their side. By this method the power to weaken opposition, to build up strength, and to win victory lies entirely within the workers themselves.

If this reasoning be sound, war or violence is one line of tactics that the proletariat, aiming to create a better world, must rigidly reject. To indulge in it would tend to support capitalism.<sup>19</sup> It would subjugate and ruin labour organisations. Another great war might put an end to many of the forms and institutions of Western civilisation, but that does not prove that capitalism in a new form would not rise Phoenix-like from the ashes of the holocaust.

When the Soviets signed the peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany, many Bolsheviks thought it a mistake, arguing that to make an agreement with imperialist Germany would be a breach of the principles of international Socialism and would make Russia an aid and agent of German imperialism. But Lenin pointed out that, "Those who call the war with Germany a

righteous and defensive war are the real betrayers of Socialism, because they are in reality supporting French and English Imperialism and concealing the secret treaties from the people."<sup>20</sup>

This seems analogous to our present question. Despite their honesty and utter devotion to the workers, the advocates of proletarian violence against capitalists may be the real (though unconscious) betrayers of the workers, for they are supporting in themselves and in all classes, the fundamental inner attitude which nourishes and produces capitalism as its economic expression.

Trotsky says :

"Only by breaking the will of the armies thrown against it can the revolutionary class solve the problem of power — the root problem of every revolution."<sup>21</sup>

If he is referring to material power, he is mistaken. Material power is not the root problem of every revolution. Deeper than rulership by political governments, banks, and classes is the control coming from ideas and sentiments,—a scheme of values, a set of ideals or activities which people desire and believe to be right. Even where government is maintained partly by the physical power of soldiers and police, the control is psychological, through the fear created by such force. It is not the people killed who are governed, but the remainder left alive and frightened. Systems of value control even propaganda, because they determine to whom the people will listen and give credence.

Non-violent resistance builds up a finer system of values and a profounder and more permanent

trust than violence can do. Also by its subtle yet powerful effects upon opponents and onlookers it tends to melt the old system of values inherent in capitalism and to re-create a new and finer inner attitude and set of values. It will tend to correct money,—a symbolism and value system which is the heart of capitalism. It will tend also to loosen the power of several other value-systems which act as controls to maintain present governments and evils. Such a change of values is what Gandhi calls a change of heart. When the old values and symbols which were the source and inner strength of the ruling class are altered and demolished, the power of the ruling class as such will disappear.<sup>22</sup>

Class divisions cannot be ended by violent strife, nor by destroying the material power of the class in control, but only by changing their ideology, their values, the assumptions upon which their class greed and pride are based.

It is the contention of the Communists that the capitalists cannot be reformed without force: that they will never forgo their power without intimidation and violence.<sup>23</sup>

It may well be that capitalism as a system of ideas and purposes is incurably greedy and destructive. But capitalists, because they are living creatures and subject to the laws of stimulus and response, cannot help being changeable, and because they are persons, cannot help being educable and capable of conversion. "Marx and Engels and the founders of scientific socialism of to-day belonged themselves to the bourgeois

intelligentsia," said Lenin.<sup>24</sup> Lenin himself began life as a bourgeois; Chicherin, for long the Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs, was a Prince before the Russian Revolution. The young American, John Reed, in whose memory the Soviet Government erected a monument in Moscow, was a gay and irresponsible bourgeois student at Harvard College before he became interested in the class struggle. History is full of instances of wealthy men of the ruling class changing their whole attitude and way of living and devoting their lives to unselfish service of the people. The non-violent resister believes that the influences which have caused such individual changes can be used consciously and in disciplined fashion to alter the beliefs and practices of a whole class. Capitalists, both as individuals and as a class, can be converted if, at the same time that you appeal to their better instincts, you also firmly say *no* to their harmful values, harmful policies and harmful practices, and refuse to accept the benefits of them.

The theory that terrorism is an aid to the workers is the same as the deterrence theory of criminal law. As Trotsky expresses it, "*Intimidation* is a powerful weapon of policy, both internally and externally. War, like revolution, is founded upon intimidation." This is only a half-truth, and like most half-truths, it works up to a certain point and then fails. Violent punishment of criminals has been proved not a deterrence to crime, nor is violence a means to gain true freedom and a better life for the

world. Violence may be somewhat efficient, just as Watt's first steam engine was somewhat efficient,<sup>25</sup> but non-violent resistance is more efficient, just as a modern steam turbine is more efficient.

"The objection to military coercion is not that it is ineffective; it is on the contrary, terribly effective, but that its effects are incalculable. They are as often as not precisely the reverse of those contemplated; and in all cases they go far beyond the intention of those who resort to it . . . . The moment violence begins men demand security at all costs; and as security can never be obtained and the endless path to it lies through blood, violence means finally the extermination of the human race. That is why the conscience of mankind feels it to be wicked and finally destructive of everything it professes to conserve."<sup>26</sup>

Violence has been tried for thousands of years. Why not experiment with something new and scientific? Lenin himself said: "Those who are engaged in the formidable task of overcoming capitalism must be prepared to try method after method until they find the one which answers the purpose best."<sup>27</sup> Why not try non-violence in the search for social truth?

The contention that you cannot alter the motives and purpose of the capitalist without using violence is equivalent to saying that you cannot overcome or remove greed or fear. A direct attack upon greed or fear may be ineffective, but it is possible indirectly to control fear or greed by creating a sense, both conscious and subconscious, of human unity and consequent security.

Non-violent resistance creates this sense of unity and security. The capitalist's conviction of the separateness and disunity of mankind is based upon his observation and experience of men and events. A powerful demonstration of non-violent resistance by the working class, better disciplined and carried further than any yet, would be a new and impressive part of his experience. And when it has been repeated a few times, the capitalist's motives, assumptions, ideology and thinking will undergo radical alteration for the better. Ordinarily the capitalist's share of moral responsibility for the sufferings of the poor is hidden from him by the indirection and screening effect of money and of large-scale organisation. But non-violent resistance strips away all that disguise, and by compelling a recognition of human unity it compels a recognition of mutual responsibility. We have said that non-violent resistance dramatises the idea of human unity. In industrial struggles it also often dramatises the human results of the capitalist employer's position and purposes and methods.

If a revolution were effected without violence, there would be no violent counter-revolution by the capitalists. It is a matter of history that there was relatively little violence in the actual process of taking over control by the workers in the Italian, Hungarian, French and Russian revolutions. The great violence came about only with the subsequent counter-revolutions and the attempts to repel them. True non-violence upon one side will tend to restrain the violence of the other, and thus great and beneficial alterations may be

effected with a minimum of terrorism, violence or destruction. The hearts of the ruling class would be changed by non-violent resistance. They would not have "lost" power, but merely lost an error, and would in the very process of change, have gained a power-with and power-for other people in exchange for their previous power-over them. Even the soldiers, otherwise available for a counter-revolution, will have had their morale greatly altered. The later stages, at least, of the change would be voluntary. Hence no desire or capacity for counter-revolution.

It may be urged that although all this is perhaps true for most of the class struggle, yet the final step for the workers can be accomplished only by violence. But if that were the belief of the workers, in order to win they would have to prepare diligently for that last step. They cannot rely on mutiny in the army and navy for the reasons already given. They would have to have not only military training but also arms. It would be impossible for the workers to be truly non-violent at any earlier stage if they were preparing for ultimate violence. Their appearance of non-violence would not deceive the capitalist employers. Hence none of the power of true non-violent resistance would accrue to the workers during the stages of the struggle preceding the last step. They might save their skins for a while by such a programme, but more probably their capitalist masters would batter them beyond mending before they had gone far with their preparation. Certainly they could not in that way solve the



class struggle. And there would always be the question for the workers' leaders as to what would be the last step in the struggle, and whether the time had now come for it. As a matter of fact, if they thought that the last step had come, and began to use violence, that step would prove to be only a renewal of the struggle from the beginning.

One of the arguments of the Communists is in effect,—here is the tremendously impressive fact of the Russian Revolution. In that revolution violence was the method, violence succeeded, therefore violence is the right method for every revolution to use.

But this is the fallacy of *post hoc, propter hoc*. The mere fact that the revolution was successful and that violence was used does not prove that violence was the most important factor in its success, even though we grant its dramatic quality. The chief reasons for the early success of the Bolsheviki were their energy, courage, idealism, boldness, previous prolonged educational propaganda and agitation, organising ability, discipline, persistence, devotion, intelligence, clearness of aim, strength of conviction,—all in the face of the weakness of the old regime and the moral weakness of the Allied Governments. That is to say, it was the moral strength and discipline, built up through years of preparation, which won. Also the establishment of a new set of values. Violence has of course settled certain questions in the course of history, and violence was a factor here, but I believe it was more of a handicap than

a help. These observations also apply to the creation of all existing States. The violence of the Bolsheviki, slight as it was at the beginning, enabled the Allies to arouse moral support for numerous counter-revolutionary expeditions against Russia.

Yet it would be unfair to imply that the Russian Communists are lovers of violence or that they do not hope that it can finally be eradicated. The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics was the first and only government to propose to the League of Nations the actual complete disarmament of all nations, and the record of Soviet Russia's efforts toward international peace and disarmament is good.<sup>28</sup> The Soviets' work in education and prison reform is extremely fine and curiously at variance with their general philosophy of violence toward their economic opponents. A Communist leader is reported to have said that the only permanent accomplishments of the Soviets were those obtained without violence. It is reported that after the attempt to assassinate Lenin, as soon as he recovered consciousness and heard of the terrorisation which the Bolsheviks had begun against all those suspected of complicity in the plot, gave the order "Stop the terror."<sup>28a</sup> Probably the bulk of Soviet effort has been in the direction of peace, despite all their violent talk. Nevertheless it can hardly be said that they hesitate to use violence if they think they can gain thereby. Their philosophy and reputation are certainly of violence. But the Western capitalistic States also certainly have, among outsiders, a reputation for violence.

Furthermore, just as courageous violence in defence of right by an individual is less harmful morally than cowardice, so the courageous violence of Communists is better than working-class acquiescence out of cowardice. Communists are not making an advance by means of violence, but at least they may thereby be stopping worse deterioration in their own souls. But on the other hand, not all inaction is due to cowardice.

The Russian Revolution stirred and released vast hopes and forces of freedom all over the world. On the other hand it aroused so much fear and hatred that it made possible dreadful repression, reaction, and tyranny in every country in the world. Within Russia there is, even now, much restriction and some violence. Taking the world as a whole, if one reaches the conclusion that the new freedom and hope exceed the new repression and tyranny, one wonders whether the cost was not greater than necessary. It is my belief that the instrument of non-violent resistance, skilfully wielded, would have brought far happier results with much less suffering and loss of life and in much shorter time.

Communism is a great and vital belief and endeavour. In all great systems of belief, whether political, religious, social, economic, or otherwise, there is a mixture of truth and error. My belief compels me to discriminate between what seems right and what seems a mistake in the Communist endeavour. As this is not a book on general social or political theory, I cannot discuss the other aspects of Communism besides the element

of violence. But as I do not want to record merely adverse criticism, let me say that although I disapprove of violence and terror, I do approve of what Keynes has called the "ethical essence" of Communism, namely, an attempt "to construct a framework of society in which pecuniary motives as influencing action shall have a changed relative importance, in which social approbations shall be differently distributed."<sup>28b</sup>

Gandhi's own conception of the purpose of the present Indian struggle is not very unlike this. His conception of political self-government (Swaraj) for India includes the so-called "upper" classes, but it is primarily a mass movement. "Real Swaraj," he says, "will not come by the acquisition of authority by a few, but by the acquisition of the capacity to resist authority when it is abused. In other words, Swaraj is to be attained by educating the masses to a sense of their capacity to regulate and control authority."<sup>29</sup> Also he stated "Non-cooperation is an attempt to awaken the masses to a sense of their dignity and power."<sup>30</sup> Elsewhere he has stated<sup>31</sup> that "No form of government can be called Swaraj in which the ultimate power does not lie with the peasant and the labourer." Also "Swaraj does not mean a transference of power from white bureaucrats to brown bureaucrats."

Gandhi certainly believes that it is impossible for India, in her circumstances, to achieve political independence and freedom by means of violence.<sup>32</sup> He would feel the same way in regard to real freedom for other countries. Violence in India for

such a purpose is, he says, "futile" and "harmful." If any political change were accomplished in that way it would prove to be not freedom for all the people but merely slavery to a different group, either to some other nation than Britain or to some special group of Indians. Violent means must produce a violent result. Violence in politics is a form of fraud and untruth. Even though such a struggle were begun for the ideal of freedom, the violence used would insure that the result finally reached would not be freedom, but a new form of slavery, probably to the group which was economically strongest. All of the States set up in the past by violent revolution have turned out to be violent and have not achieved anywhere near full freedom for the masses,—not even in the case of Russia. In *Young India* for April 24, 1930, Gandhi wrote :

"It is of course open to the critic to say that both non-violence and Independent India achieved through it exist only in my imagination. My retort then is that, God willing, I shall not be found surviving in an India that remains slave in spite of this struggle, or under so-called Independence achieved through violent means."

Gandhi believes in strong labour unions. He sanctions temporary picketing, comparing the pickets to the police who are really picketing against thieves.<sup>33</sup> He feels that sympathetic strikes are rarely advisable. He believes that the chief conditions of a successful strike are:<sup>34</sup>

- "(1) Never to resort to violence.
- (2) Never to molest blacklegs (scabs).
- (3) Never to depend upon alms or Union funds.

- (4) To remain firm, no matter how long the strike continues and to earn bread, during the strike, by any other honest temporary labour.
- (5) The cause of the strike must be just.
- (6) There should be practical unanimity among the strikers."

Some feel that the economic pressure of a strike or boycott is a form of coercion and therefore a sort of violence in reality. They say it is intended to injure and will injure the opponents and therefore is inconsistent with the attitude of love professed by a non-violent resister.

A strike or commercial boycott is a refusal to co-operate with a commercial or industrial system. Since the existing capitalist commercial and industrial systems, especially when they use the powers of governments, are of doubtful morality in many respects, to say "no" to them is not necessarily immoral. Of course it may cause unemployment and suffering. But to argue that such results prove the strike or boycott immoral would compel one also to say that the breaking up of a well-established opium den or gang of thieves would also be immoral because it would cause unemployment and suffering among those engaged in such occupations. Since the very operation of capitalistic industrial and commercial systems causes unemployment and suffering among both the selling and buying nations, the rightness or wrongness of a strike or boycott must be determined more by factors other than suffering, or at least by a fairer estimate of

relative sufferings.<sup>35</sup> A merely punitive or retaliatory or threatening boycott or strike, because of its motive, is violent in spirit and is therefore wrong. It will surely result in violent acts. But the building up of a new and better economic order requires a boycott or refusal to carry on or co-operate with some parts of the old order. Indeed, probably the only economic boycott that is justifiable is one which is the negative aspect of a definite, well-planned reform or attempt to build a better economic system. That is the nature of Gandhi's boycott of foreign cloth in India.

Some have raised doubts about the ethical rightness of group non-violent resistance on the ground that it is negative physical coercion and that, because it may cause among the opponents suffering, restriction of freedom and loss of property, it is not generically different from other forms of coercion.<sup>36</sup>

But a non-violent refusal is a matter of will, whether carried out as individual action or in the form of boycott, strike, civil disobedience to law or otherwise. It is true that such refusals have physical effects, but so do most psychic processes. Non-violent resistance is an opposition or pressure that is psychic, not physical, whether it is the act of a single non-violent resister or of a group of people, small or large. Group pressure is greater and its physical effects are more impressive, but the process itself is still psychic, not physical. We learned that even in war the mental and moral factors greatly predominate over

It may be pertinent to note that probably the only freedoms of the opponent which are restricted by non-violent resistance are those which were created by his violence or that of his predecessors or their agents, and have since been maintained by his violence or threats of violence or those of his agents. The opponent's property rights which get impaired were also created and maintained by his violence or that of his agent,—usually the State acting in his behalf and for his benefit. Whether or not destruction of material property constitutes violence is not a question of the suddenness of the physical change but of the motives and moral methods involved.

We speak sometimes of a compelling truth or a compelling beauty, but never of a coercing truth or a coercing beauty. Truth and beauty may compel by superior power, but there is no element of fear in the compulsion. The power of non-violent resistance is predominantly the power of social truth and moral beauty,—powers whose operation does not involve fear. In human affairs, moral power is more basic even than economic or political power. Non-violent resistance compels people to make moral choices. It does not suppress reason but frees it from inertia and establishes its sovereignty over prejudice, hatred, anger and greed.<sup>37</sup>

It has been suggested that coercion is “an attempt to overcome the will of another without convincing his reason.”<sup>38</sup> That is not an accurate definition. The will of a person or group is not made up of purely rational considerations, but



predominantly of desires and sentiments which are subsequently rationalised more or less elaborately. Any alteration of the will requires, therefore, stimuli which are not purely rational. Yet not every alteration of the will is due to coercion. Although the non-violent resister always appeals to reason at every stage of the struggle, he knows that in order to alter the opponent's will he must use appeals that go deeper than reason. But it is not correct to say that in so doing he is, *ipso facto*, using coercion. After a successful struggle of non-violent resistance, the opponent's reason finds itself convinced to the new situation because the emotion, sentiment, and desire basis of the old rationalisations has been replaced by a better basis.

If employees and employers are both entangled in an economic situation which is full of mistakes and inefficiencies and violent in attitude, purpose, thought and action, both parties must seek the truth. A truly non-violent strike is a way of seeking truth. A strike that is wholly non-violent in both outward form and inner motive on the part of the strikers does involve a certain element of moral pressure. But moral pressure imposes itself only upon those who accept it or who accept moral assumptions and values, that is to say, the search for social truth. Therefore they may not complain against its power. One may argue that non-violent moral pressure is not wholly ideal. But completely self-sacrificing, non-violent moral pressure is as ideal as any system of morals. It is an appeal to human unity. Such

moral pressure is better than the sort of economic pressure and moral violence that the present economic system imposes upon all parties. Some day we will attain better relationships. A truly non-violent strike in which the strikers try to assume as much as possible of the inevitable suffering on themselves, being as fully responsible as possible, would surely be a vast improvement over most of the modes of economic pressure used nowadays by both parties in industrial conflicts. All struggles for truth involve suffering, and to the extent that our economic machinery is in error there will be suffering for all parties involved in it, no matter what is done.

Some say that industrial strikes are wrong because they are a violation of the essential unity and interdependence of "capital" and "labour," and indeed of all mankind. Such people forget that there can be no sound unity or interdependence between people or groups unless it is based on mutual respect. As long as financiers and industrial leaders think of employees as means for the ends of the employers, as cogs in a machine, as instruments by which any given organisation or institution can be forwarded; so long, I believe, true respect for the employees is lacking, and there is sure to be trouble. Until there comes equality of bargaining power, or its ethical equivalent, between the parties in industry, we shall not attain industrial peace. Strikes are an intimation to employers that their treatment of employees has somehow been lacking in respect.

I am inclined to believe that one reason why so many strikes fail in Western countries is because both employers and employees, capitalists and proletariat, are snared in the same net of ideas and valuations, those of money and of violence. Both sides think of violence as a means for progress. Both usually think of money as the chief store of value and the only symbol of credit or trust. Both sides are inclined to think of wealth as a fixed quantity to be struggled for, whereas it is really a continual flow of energy in various forms, and the flow is actually so great, if we will only organise our joint life to utilise it, that there will be more than enough to go around and make a bountiful material life for everyone in the world.<sup>39</sup>

To be truly successful in the long run, strikes must be, in my judgment, non-violent in conduct, speech, thought and feeling. Whatever may be the future organisation of society, if it is to be reasonably permanent and a real improvement, it must be brought about by non-violent means. The amount of conflict in the economic realm is today so great that probably labour and farmer organisations and coloured races will have greater opportunity than all others to develop and use the methods and discipline of non-violent resistance. In all countries there are numerous instances of oppressive and unfair court decisions, legislation and administration of laws to the disadvantage of labour and labour organisations. This fact seems to place a burden upon labour organisations to correct such injustice by non-

violent resistance. Already they have partially used it more than any other groups. As their discipline and understanding of it grows, their victories will, I believe, steadily increase. That they have this task in addition to other hardships need not make them feel bitter. They are better fitted for it than most people of the wealthier classes, because the poor, as a class, have a stronger and clearer sense of human unity than any other group. Only from such a realisation can any great reforms in this field come about.

If any conservatives are anxious lest there might be a "tyranny of labour," let them remember that they also have the privilege of using non-violent resistance. But the conservatives should be very careful to keep their resistance wholly non-violent, even in spirit, and be ready to suffer cheerfully, for they have for many centuries had what physicians call a diathesis or tendency to use violence.

Modern capitalism, like war, has some truths and virtues, both in its spirit and technique. For instance, its energy, creativeness, initiative, adventurousness, logic, foresight, adaptability, careful use of time, skill in planning, use of calculations, accounts and mathematical exactness, resourcefulness, reliability, orderliness, thoroughness, use of science and technology, organising ability, use of credit. Certain of these virtues have been imitated by even so implacable an enemy as the Soviet government.

Yet capitalism has also evils. Non-violent resistance can greatly help to control or eliminate

certain of these evils. For instance, its use can and probably will

(1) Tend to correct the present over-valuation of money in all affairs, by reason of the larger implications of non-violent resistance, with reference to human values.<sup>40</sup>

(2) Tend to control and modify the wages system, so that men and women may no longer be considered and treated primarily as cogs in a machine, as instruments of a policy, and as a means to an impersonal end, or as pawns for the selfish purposes of others.

(3) Check any tyrannical abuses growing out of the bureaucracy of large organisation, whether industrial, financial or governmental.

(4) Check abuses of the taxing power of the State, the income of which now so largely flows into the hands of powerful private interests in protective tariffs, government debts, etc.

(5) Stop the unfair exploitation of the inhabitants of certain countries which are now regarded chiefly as sources of raw materials or as markets.

(6) Develop, by virtue of its larger implications, new forms of trust or credit which may tend to correct or replace the purely financial credit now predominating, and prevent its abuse and too narrow control.

(7) Correct the unfairness of common and statutory law in favour of private property.

(8) Give proper weight to public welfare as against private property.<sup>41</sup>

(9) Prevent or nullify the use of armed forces of the State to compel industrial workers or farmers to surrender freedom of assembly, freedom of speech, freedom of the Press, strikes, etc.

(10) Eliminate the inferiority complexes which have hampered the masses, and the suppressed resentments caused thereby.

Modern capitalism rests upon a basis made up of a controlled world market for goods, a free market for labour, control over the workers, and control of lands furnishing raw materials.<sup>42</sup> Without these conditions modern capitalism could not exist. All were secured largely by violence, and are maintained largely by violence or threats of violence. A method which deprives violence of its power will be able to abolish capitalism and secure economic justice.

Some people may say that though non-violent resistance may be theoretically the best way to settle the class struggle or an international quarrel, we have not got time to use it; that the urgency of righting existing evils is too pressing, and that therefore we must use violence. The answer is that if we want a real settlement we have not got time for any method other than non-violent resistance.

Though it may seem slow, it is in the end the fastest method because it is the surest. Every society is a living thing, a matter of gradual growth. This should not mean passive, irresponsible, blind evolution or Fabian "inevitability of gradualness," but deliberate, prolonged, careful, persevering, consistent efforts of will. It is true that there are sometimes swift economic and political changes, and that in the growths of nature there are sudden transformations such as the bursting of a bud or the birth of an animal.

Yet even those sudden events have been preceded by a long period of inner development and growth. Neither society nor the State is a mechanical structure made in somebody's mind and then quickly clamped down on people. Such things are organic growths, and as we have already learned, organic growth takes place only as a result of prolonged repetition of gentle stimuli. Unless time is allowed for growth, and unless gentle stimuli are used, the resulting organisation will not be just, peaceful, happy, efficient, or permanent. The work will have to be done all over again.

Violence is a violation of this law of nature. The persistence and frequency of our failures to understand and apply this law of nature is one of the chief reasons for the slowness of human progress. The good that does exist in human societies has developed only by the partial following of this law. Marvellous advances have been made in the last two hundred years by the discovery and use of previously unknown laws of material nature. Similarly, by the full understanding and detailed, continuous application of this law of gentle stimulus we can make equally great and rapid advances in social, economic and political realms.

In so far as race conflicts are due to economic causes, non-violent resistance will be as effective as it is in other class conflicts. That part of race conflicts due to the pride, ignorance and prejudice of white people will also be solved by the steady use of non-violent resistance by the dark-skinned races. In some instances the method

will require joint suffering by white and dark-skinned people acting together in non-violent resistance to the dominant whites. In effect this was the method used in the Vykom case described in Chapter I, where several members of the privileged castes joined and led several members of the untouchables in their action, and then the privileged caste reformers assumed the major effort and suffering in the struggle.

Although it is not a panacea, non-violent resistance is an effective social instrument whereby we may re-mould the world.



## CHAPTER IX

### NON-VIOLENCE AND THE STATE

NON-VIOLENT resistance is the key to the problem of liberty in the modern State. That seems like a large claim until we begin to reflect upon the part which force and compulsion play in all the relationships in which the State takes part.

All observers recognise that compulsion, intimidation and violence have been and still are a very large and perhaps predominating element in the State, and especially in political government.<sup>1</sup> If anyone felt inclined to dispute the scholars on this point, let him examine the figures showing that the expenditures for past and future wars form a very high percentage of the total expenditures of the governments of the majority of nations. To this he should add the State expenditures for prisons, the administration of criminal law and a certain part of the administration of civil law. The State has many fine elements, but they perhaps do not counterbalance the large part played by force and compulsion.

This condition of affairs is due not to a particular ruling class, as the Socialists and Communists would have us believe, but to an inner psychological attitude which prevails through all groups and classes in the so-called "civilised" world. The Marxians say that political forms and methods are determined entirely by economic forces. We would say that both political and

economic processes, at least in relation to violence and coercion, are due to still deeper psychological factors. The amount of coercion and violence in the State is a reflection or resultant of a similar tendency and attitude in all our life and activities, both individual and associative.

The non-violent resister believes that a large part of the activities of the State are founded upon a mistake, namely, the idea that fear is the strongest and best sanction for group action and association. He believes that fear is divisive and therefore cannot be the foundation for permanent unity and strength.<sup>2</sup> He believes that in the family and in education it has now been realised that fear is not a sound basis for action. There we find substituted the more positive and growth-stimulating forces of intellectual curiosity, wonder, love and co-operation. The non-violent resister looks forward to a time when a similar realisation will come in regard to the larger associations of States. He believes that non-violent resistance will probably be an important means in reaching this realisation.

Because of the importance of the factor of compulsion in the State, it will be desirable to examine a number of relationships between the State and other groups or elements, in which violence or non-violence may play a part. We will consider them as follows :

A. Relations with ordinary rivals or opponents of the State,—namely, other States and criminals.

B. Relations with unusual opponents,—conscientious objectors to war and non-violent resisters against some particular law or against the State itself.

The principles of non-violent resistance can be applied to diplomacy as well as war, for the two are closely allied.<sup>3</sup> Compared with war, non-violent resistance is a safer and more effective instrument of policy. By its use the entire military and naval expenses of all nations can be eliminated.<sup>4</sup>

In so far as diplomacy has been characterised by secrecy and deceit, the principle of truth involved in non-violent resistance will bring about reform. Secrecy and deceit are signs of fear, but non-violent resistance proceeds upon the basis of control and eventual elimination of fear. It insists on truth and openness in all dealings. Gandhi's practice is a living embodiment of this principle.

Non-violent resistance can be used internationally, with or without economic boycott as circumstances require.<sup>4a</sup> Causes that some people think cannot be submitted to arbitration may be handled by such means. Mere non-violence will not do, as the example of China, in the past, shows. There must be constructive resistance. The Indian Non-Co-operative Movement in 1922 gave an example which was promising.

Attempts to improve international relations absorb the time, energy and money of many people. While I admire the devotion shown, most of it seems to me to be wasted because it deals with symptoms instead of the root of the trouble. It is like putting poultices on a cancer. War is an institution, and institutions are external expressions of previous inner attitudes and ways of thinking.<sup>5</sup> To try merely to alter the institution

is like locking the stable door after the horse is stolen. Even the Mosaic commandment "Thou shalt not kill" begins psychologically at the wrong end of the problem.

World courts, leagues of nations, peace pacts and peace congresses do little toward improving the inner attitudes or psychological dispositions and habits of mind. Most of the peacemakers work only on externals, and disregard deep-seated inconsistencies and forces working for war in many parts of the economic, social, educational and organised religious systems.<sup>6</sup> To say this is not to oppose their effort, but only to wish that it might be more efficient.

Inasmuch as peacemakers need to be especially sensitive to the truth, it seems desirable to present here two criticisms of their activity, for them to ponder. One was well phrased by Niebuhr:

"... The implication is that England and America are the only two really solvent nations in the Western World, and that, since they have what they want and need, it is to their interest to preach peace. The hungry nations will meanwhile fail to react to this moral idealism. They will shrewdly and cynically observe that it is always the tendency of those who have to extol the virtue of peace and order and to place those who have not at a moral disadvantage.

"It is quite impossible for the strong to be redemptive in their relation to the weak if they are not willing to share the weakness of the weak, or at least to equalise in some degree the disproportion of advantages."<sup>7</sup>

Trotsky, prior to his recent "deviation", made another incisive criticism in respect to a

certain sort of pacifism.<sup>8</sup> He said that "a responsible function is allotted to pacifism in the economy of warfare." By this he refers to the pacifists who go around talking about "our sacred duty to do all in our power to preserve the nation from the horrors of war," yet always carefully adding, "If war should come, we will all support the government, of course." Trotsky proceeds:

" 'To do everything in our power against the war,' means to afford the voice of popular indignation an outlet in the form of harmless demonstration, after having previously given the government a guarantee that it will meet with no serious opposition, in the case of war, from the pacifist faction.

" Official pacifism could have desired nothing better. It could now give satisfactory assurance of imperialistic 'preparedness.' After Bryan's own declaration, only one thing was necessary to dispose of his noisy opposition to war, and that was, simply, to declare war. And Bryan rolled right over into the government camps. And not only the *petite bourgeoisie*, but also the broad masses of the workers, said to themselves: 'If our government, with such an outspoken pacifist as Wilson at the head, declares war, and if even Bryan supports the government in the war, it must be an unavoidable and righteous war.' "

It is easy to see how that type of pacifism helps to rally the entire country to the support of militarists at the time they most need it. They are glad to let such pacifists throw a gentle moral glow over affairs before war and then fill themselves and the masses with moral fervour in support of war as soon as it comes.<sup>9</sup>

International peace requires a development of a world community.<sup>10</sup> The mood of mutual tolerance, respect and good will needed for the establishment and operation of such a community will best be created, in social practice, by the use of non-violent resistance for the righting of existing wrongs.

One weakness of most peace proposals is that they all expect the action to be taken by governments or large organisations, or at least someone else besides the proposer. The advantage of non-violent resistance is that it begins at home and can and needs to be practised in all the small private relations between people as a preparation for and accompaniment of its use on a large scale. Nobody can dodge the responsibility for its success. The poorest and most insignificant can practise it as finely, successfully and usefully as prime ministers, presidents, financiers, labour leaders or other powerful persons. Through non-violent resistance we can reach an active, reasoned belief in peace which is capable of continuous practice in all grades of life and all sorts of conflict, so as to educate everyone into a conviction that it gives better results, more efficiently, than violence.

The causes of disagreement and conflict between nations are legion, and need not be discussed here. Yet there is one group of causes so very important at present that it may not be out of place to consider it briefly. This is the economic and political relationship between nations of the temperate zone and those of the tropics,

together with the international jealousies resulting therefrom between nations of the former group. It is recognised now in Europe and America that diversified farming creates economic prosperity and stability for the farmer and reduces the likelihood of plant disease, insect pests, market gluts, and other risks. It also increases the yield per acre. Yet at the same time Europe and the United States are asking and compelling the tropics to develop large plantations and single crop agriculture, to raise in this way rubber, jute, cotton, hemp, sugar, tobacco, tea, coffee, rice, oil seeds, cocoanuts, bananas, oranges, pineapples, etc. By this "mining" of the land the white man is passing a heavy burden on to the tropics, reducing their prosperity, depleting their soil, ultimately decreasing their prosperity, increasing their losses from plant disease and insects, and market depressions.<sup>11</sup> In the long run it has decreased and will decrease the purchasing power of the tropical markets for manufactured goods. Tropical peoples will be apt to get rid of the incubus.

Some observers say that the present civilisation and culture of the temperate zones is now largely based on tropical products, such as rubber, cotton, jute, vegetable oils, coffee, tea, tobacco, spices, etc., and that the tropics must do their share of maintaining the other civilisations. Other observers point to the restless energy of inhabitants of the temperate zones and the relative lethargy of tropical peoples, and do not see, therefore, how exploitation of the tropics could be prevented even if it were desirable on other

grounds. Still others believe that industrial nations ought to exploit the tropics in order to spread the economic blessings of industrialism over all the human race.

All these beliefs proceed on a denial of choice or preference to the tropical peoples, and are therefore a form of violence. Hitherto those peoples have lacked an effective way to express their preferences, but they are beginning to learn the use of the economic boycott and more advanced forms of non-violent resistance. It is all very well to talk of the economic interdependence of the different nations, but to use that as a high-sounding excuse for the sort of exploitation that is now going on will not do. International trade is excellent, but every nation ought to do its utmost first to produce its own essential food and clothing,—the bare necessities of its life as a nation. That policy is not now followed by the controlling financial, industrial and political groups of any nation in the Western world, though perhaps Denmark and one or two other small European countries are not far from it. A large amount of self-dependence for the essential necessities of national life is the economic basis of national self-respect, mutual international respect and a preventative of economic parasitism. Beyond and above that let trade proceed as merrily as it can, but with a minimum of exploitation. And let each nation and each group within the nation use non-violent resistance to keep its own minimum low and to educate the holders of power to make social use of it, and to keep them in that path.



Many of the wrong relations between nations come from wrong relations between groups within them. For example, the dependence of Great Britain upon food from abroad, and consequently part of her imperialism, seems to have been partly a result of the policy of enclosures beginning about 1400 whereby the poor English farmers were dispossessed of their lands for the benefit of the more powerful classes.<sup>12</sup> In so far as this general principle is valid, the improvement of relations between the State and groups within it would seem to be one means of helping toward sound international relationships.

Let us now consider the internal relationships of the State.

In all nations there seems to be a ruling group or class. For example, in England it is a combination of financiers, large commercial and industrial leaders, and the aristocracy,<sup>13</sup> in Russia it is the Communist Party, in the United States, it is "big business." These groups know the art of government, different in outer form in different countries, but having many psychological similarities in all. Up till now the art of government has been largely the art of producing and manipulating prides, greeds, fears, jealousies, angers, resentments and divisions among groups and powerful individuals so as always to keep the control of power within one predominant group. Consider how subtle and powerful is the manipulation of social pride and vanity by the ranks, titles, orders, official rewards, and superiority and inferiority complexes in the British aristocracy.

Germany formerly showed a similar spectacle. Other nations use the same methods in lesser degree. Much political control is based on the principle of "divide and rule." These processes involve much fraud and deceit.<sup>13a</sup>

Non-violent resistance is built on principles the opposite of all this and its practice will purify politics and government.

The group within each State toward which the State uses compulsory force most constantly is that of the criminals. It is therefore interesting to find that the attitude and methods of non-violent resistance are the conclusions toward which all the experience of penology and the investigations of psychiatrists, criminologists and social reformers are steadily tending.<sup>14</sup>

If there is ever any reform after forceful punishment or imprisonment, it is not the force or even the suffering that works the change. That depends upon the reaction of the suffering person and cannot take place unless there is stimulus to some latent or potential goodness in the criminal. Intelligent kindness is a far more effective stimulus than any force can be. If force were the true cause of amendment, then its efficacy would increase with repetition. But all experience shows that a repetition of force merely hardens the prisoner and stimulates a desire for revenge.

Violence and severe punishment have proved unavailing for thousands of years. The facts compel us to admit that cruel punishment is not only ineffective but is injurious to prison wardens and to society as well as to the criminal. Also

we now know that society is itself largely responsible for the conditions which create criminals. Non-violent curative methods are the only ones which work or can possibly work. This means careful psychiatric or psychological examinations and psychiatric treatment; remedial diet;<sup>15</sup> medical care if need be; training in a useful craft or occupation; wise general education, good food, good quarters; decent, kindly, respectful treatment; many sorts of stimuli and opportunities for normal expression and living; wise probation; good juvenile and delinquent courts. The criminal courts should have only the function of deciding whether or not the crime has been committed and the accessory facts. They should have no power of punishment. Thereafter the case should be handled by physicians, psychiatrists, psychologists,<sup>16</sup> social workers, teachers, and employment agencies. The object should be not to make good prisoners but to make criminals into good citizens.

There are, of course, many dangerous and probably incurable criminals at present who require close restraint. They are the inevitable product of existing defective social processes and penal systems. They will not disappear nor will they cease to be manufactured until society itself is changed for the better. Prison reform and criminal reform are a part of general social and economic reform.

But when really sound treatment is given the criminals and when society steps forward in its own reform, the prison population will greatly

decrease. Even the feeble-minded and insane are capable of great improvement by proper treatment. Sound diet alone has worked wonders in numerous cases.

In the chapters on the psychology of non-violent resistance we stated that imitation and suggestion are most powerful when unconscious or subconscious. It is known that drunken people are very sensitive to suggestion, and that in many types of insanity the subconsciousness is peculiarly alert and sensitive. Many insane people seem to have an uncanny faculty of perceiving the real purposes of those with whom they come in contact. This type of sensitiveness may prevail also in certain types of delirium.

This suggests that real non-violent kindness would be a language which many cases of delirium, insanity, drunkenness and crime would understand and respond to in more instances than is ordinarily believed. Certain specific occasions where non-violence was successful in handling such cases confirm this conclusion.<sup>17</sup> Good music, especially participation in well trained choral singing, has been found in at least one prison to exercise a profound and lasting beneficial influence on many criminals. Probably there are countless other unrecorded instances. Doubtless there are certain types of mental degeneracy where the nervous integrations are so badly injured that they are incapable of making any response in kind to non-violent treatment. But they may be relatively few, and capable of unmistakable diagnosis and description.

It would be desirable for criminologists, psychiatrists and physicians to make a long and careful study of all types of crime, mental disease or disability in relation to the possibility and desirability of handling them by wholly non-violent or non-forceful methods. Too much is now left to the haphazard experience and hasty generalisations of wardens, nurses and attendants. Carefully worked out information codified into rules and made a subject of intelligent instruction would be of immense assistance to prisons, houses of correction, reform schools, insane asylums, hospitals, private nurses, policemen and physicians. The use of such rules would serve to increase considerably the respect and affection of many people for government and corrective and remedial institutions, and help also in the prompter reform and cure of many criminals and patients. By careful study it will be possible, I am confident, to reduce the amount and frequency of forcible restraint very considerably. What we need is a sincere, persistent, intelligent effort to eliminate it entirely, —to regard every obstacle thereto as an indication of our ignorance of human nature rather than as any inherent impossibility.

Violent defence against thieves and burglars arises out of our ideas about property. Most killings by thieves and other criminals are not strictly "in cold blood", but out of fear that the victim will somehow harm the criminal. But if the threatened victim is wholly unafraid, friendly, kind, generous, and imaginative, there is relatively small chance of his receiving physical injury.<sup>18</sup>

Such considerations indicate that it will be eventually possible and practicable to forgo violent defence of property. It is a part of the duty of non-violent resisters to help bring such a state of affairs to pass. It will be for mankind as a whole a slow process, but there is no reason why the progress should not be steady and sometimes, and at some places, rapid.

It is interesting to realise that non-violent resistance can be used both by the State and the prisoners. If the State considers itself the injured party and the criminal the attacker, it can offer him non-violent reformatory treatment. If the criminal is mentally competent and feels that really he is the victim of an unjust social system and brutal wardens and police, he too may offer non-violent resistance and do his share toward prison reform. In this connection, Gandhi's instructions for the jail conduct of political prisoners are of interest, though we have not space to quote them here.<sup>19</sup>

In some instances of sentencing innocent men to long imprisonments and even death, there has been much severe criticism directed against the governors, judges and other officials involved. This seems to me both a misconception of the real forces at work and a waste of energy. The fault does not lie with the men in office. The real causes are psychological and spiritual, and it is these and this institutionalised form that must be resisted and transformed. Governments are the external results of inner concepts and attitudes and ideas. Each one of us is partly responsible.

The re-education must be directed primarily at this foundation, though, of course, it should find expression in all situations and relationships.

The police system also needs modification in the direction of constantly less violence. Certain police functions are necessary in any complex modern society,—such as directing traffic in city streets, providing information for strangers, helping to settle altercations without violence, helping lost children, directing large crowds, providing a disciplined orderly nucleus of leaders and helpers in times of public disaster such as fires, floods, earthquakes, severe storms, epidemics of disease, etc. Even after the advantages of non-violence become widely recognised there will still be people whose habits of violence persist, whose self-control is poor, or who will still occasionally hope to gain their ends by violence. For a generation or two after such recognition it may be necessary to permit the police to use a greatly restricted amount of physical compulsion in certain cases where physical violence has already been used or overtly threatened by some other person. Experience in England over a number of years indicates that under such circumstances probably no firearms, sticks or brutality would be needed. Certainly strong efforts should be made to stop most police violence immediately and eliminate all police violence as rapidly as we can educate society to non-violence and eradicate the conditions which create violent crime. The policeman of the future by his example and leadership in firm, intelligent, strong, creative kindness can

do much to educate the masses to non-violence as a part of daily routine life. It is in this direction, one hopes, that police systems will evolve, and indeed they must so evolve if we are ever to create a truly sound political order.



## CHAPTER X

### FURTHER POLITICAL ASPECTS

THE State may have two classes of unusual opponents within itself—the conscientious objectors to war and the non-violent resisters to specific laws or to the government itself.

This does not seem to be the place to enter into a long discussion about the relative supremacy of the individual conscience and the State. Those who are still in doubt about that may consult other books.<sup>1</sup> Our argument assumes the prevalence of violence in the world and assumes that the State is its chief organised instrument. We have endeavoured to show many reasons why violence is inefficient, and why non-violent resistance is a sounder method. This is no mere dim, mystic matter of conscience, although conscience was doubtless the first way this truth was apprehended. Many people who have not yet clearly thought the matter through still feel it only vaguely through their conscience.<sup>2</sup>

The State, like all institutions, is imperfect, and non-violent resistance is a means of perfecting it. All true patriots and lovers of mankind owe it to each other and to humanity to try to perfect the mode of their association. If the State is to be considered the outward form and organisation of the large principles of human association, those principles are especially endangered in time of threatened or actual war. At such times it is the

special duty of believers in non-violent resistance to stand by their principles, and thus try to save the better self of the State.<sup>3</sup> Yet inasmuch as the case of conscientious objectors is in actual time of war very difficult, let us consider the matter.

It has been argued<sup>4</sup> that the State does not permit its citizens, even in time of peace, to set up conscience as a defence for acts which are generally disapproved. The courts do not allow men to plead that they are conscientious burglars or conscientious murderers. Of the conscientious objector it is said, "If his conscience is offended, so much the worse for his conscience." Therefore, no mercy should be shown to conscientious objectors in wartime. "They are a danger to the State; compel them to serve or put them away," is the cry.

But in all this and the protest against it by many conscientious objectors and their friends, the real meaning of the action of the conscientious objectors is being missed. They are aiming at something deeper than any constitution or statutory law,—something moral of which written law at its best is only a cramped, partial, lifeless, second-hand reflection. They are trying to enlighten and reform a deep-rooted, strong, old habit and attitude. This cannot be done quickly or easily. It requires much creative thought, feeling and action. Someone has to pay a big price for such a big change. The conscientious objectors, if they are clear-headed and sincere, must be ready to pay the price without shrinking, complaining or

pitying themselves. Only by their ideas, their actions and their voluntary suffering can they persuade mankind to do the necessary hard thinking and altering of habits.

Communists are fond of quoting Karl Marx's saying that "Violence is the midwife of a new order of society." But Marx was mistaken here. Not violence, but *suffering* is the midwife of a new order of society. Furthermore, the suffering must be, so far as possible, voluntary on the part of those who propose a new order. The Communists add to Marx's error when they wish to impose the suffering on others. It is true that those who desire a new order are usually those who have already suffered very severely and apparently with no effect. But their suffering need not be futile if they will organise and discipline it and think still more clearly. Corporate or mass non-violent resistance will do the work if they are really determined and always seek the truth.

For these reasons the conscientious objectors may welcome imprisonment and persecution gladly, as an opportunity for compelling men to think. In time of war people get in some respects closer to reality. War is, therefore, perhaps, a more favourable occasion than one would suspect, for making a profound and lasting impression upon large numbers of people. Persecution strengthens and purifies the energies and thoughts and inner attitude of the conscientious objectors themselves, thus fitting them to be more useful. They are paying the price not only of living in the State

but of creating new values and recreating the State. Since war is the culmination of a long period of divisive thoughts, feelings, sentiments, purposes and acts, the chief labour of conscientious objectors will be in every way, in domestic as well as in international relations, to try to speak and act so as to build up human unity, and to avoid thoughts, feelings, sentiments, and acts inconsistent with such unity. Conscientious objectors will so work, before, during, and after war. Recognising that in time of war those who sincerely believe in war must be true to their lights and therefore fight, and that their belief must be respected, nevertheless the conscientious objectors will try to demonstrate a better way.

Someone made the following criticism of conscientious objectors who wished to live as ordinary citizens :

"To pay taxes is to be as much a partner in the war as fighting would be,—with the added enormity of paying others to do an immoral thing which the protester evades by buying himself off."

But the answer is that,<sup>5</sup>

"To part with one's property at the demand of another person does not make one responsible for all that person's doings, nor does it imply a readiness to obey any and every command that that person may feel he has a right to issue."

A non-violent resister does not have to refuse *all* co-operation with a State unless he feels that the State is entirely evil or that it is past reform. He may select and grade his resistance to its evils according to their nature and the immediate-

end to be accomplished. He might on some occasion refuse to pay taxes, as Thoreau did<sup>6</sup> and as Indians have done, as a means of compelling men to think; but he should realise that even then he is still helping to support the State. All his food and clothing is produced or transported by persons or corporations which pay taxes to the Government and charge this expense into the price of their services. He should keep his conscience sensitive, think through this problem still more deeply, and live up to his best conclusions.

Again, it has been said that,

"If a Christian must refuse to fight for his country, he must refuse the protection of his life and property which the law affords him."

That may or may not be so, but if it is so, the non-violent resister will not be dismayed, for his belief is that his real protection lies not in policemen, courts and laws, but in the prevailing common sense, experience and habits of decency among the mass of mankind, and in the method of non-violent resistance to influence them to kindly action.

But the militarists and their supporters need not be too perturbed by the opposition of the non-violent resisters, nor need the latter feel that they are in desperate straits. It begins to appear that modern war will soon no longer require vast masses of soldiers and universal conscription. Aeroplanes, gas bombs, tanks and submarines are acting to create military unemployment. Hence,

the State will not be under such pressure to conscript every possible man.

The article on Conscription in the latest (14th) edition (1929) of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, by the English authority, Col. J. F. C. Fuller, reads in part as follows (referring to the World War):

"The theory of conscription has run its course, and is to-day growing out of date. A few years hence no conscript army will be able to face an organised attack by armed motor cars, let alone by tanks and kindred weapons. It will have its use solely as an army of occupation, a force of men which will occupy a conquered area but not conquer it. The fighting armies of the future will be voluntary, highly professional and highly paid, consequently, comparatively small; this is the whole tendency of present day military evolution."<sup>7 8</sup>

Non-violent resistance is not an evasion of duty to the State or community. On the contrary, it is an attempt to see that duty in its largest and most permanent and responsible aspect. It is an attempt to place all relations between individual citizens, between citizens and States, and between States, on the cleanest, finest, most co-operative, most unifying and permanent basis possible. It is creative and conservative of the finest values in human and community relationship.

Some may think it inconsistent to say that non-violent resistance, which may even employ economic boycott for a time, is a co-operative movement. But careful thought shows that really effective and permanent co-operation must have substantial equality and mutual respect between the parties as a precondition and foundation. Often

the first part of the effort of non-violent resistance is to establish a recognition of spiritual equality and an expression of it in respectful conduct. Once that is established, real and fine co-operation can proceed apace.

Non-violent resistance is not lawless nor anarchical. Anarchy is absence of government. But the theory of non-violent resistance is not hostile to government as such. It does oppose evils in government, but so would every fine and honest citizen. Otherwise how could there ever be any hope of decent government? Not only does non-violent resistance accept government; but in order to be successful it must also itself impose on its followers rigid discipline, self-control, strong co-operation and a sense of responsibility.

For the same reason true non-violent resistance is not disorderly. The qualities it requires for its exercise are not qualities of disorder. It asks for not less order but more, but it asks that the order be more just, more equitable, both in operation and in purpose and result, than many of the kinds of order that now prevail. It aims to see that the prevailing order shall be truly democratic, just and fair to all groups, to minorities as well as majorities. There is ground for suspicion that the chief purpose of the "peace and security" imposed by industrialised nations or powerful financial groups upon other nations or groups not so powerful, is trade and money profit for the imposers without much regard for the ways or aspirations of the other groups. Under such circumstances "law and order" does not mean

absence of violence. It means only that the violence is carefully organised and concentrated and used to maintain in power a certain set of ideas and a certain group of people whom those ideas favour. A jail is outwardly orderly, but who wants to live in a jail? Some kinds of order are very like death. We must not think that there are no new kinds of order under which people can live happy, peaceful and useful lives. There may be a federation of different kinds of political order.

In a struggle between a violent and a non-violent person or group there will be the confusion, disorder and perhaps bloodshed created by the violence of the violent party. Some of that confusion and disorder may seem to prevail among the non-violent party. But if the discipline is strong the disorder is only temporary and superficial, like the dust and confusion of a house-moving or re-arrangement of furniture. It is only the incidental preparatory stage for a better order. Non-violent resistance keeps the disorder at a minimum.

Peaceful resistance is more than orderly; it is constructive. The discipline and organisation it requires create an agreement and unity as to both purpose and method. The hardships endured harden and strengthen the common will. We know the unifying effect of war on a nation. Non-violent struggle is far more unifying, by reason of the absence of the divisive emotions of war and the presence of strongly unifying factors which have already been discussed in part and will be still further considered in later chapters. The



necessity for finding a peaceful solution strongly stimulates thought and compels creative work.

It is true, as a friend of mine recently wrote, that "The sense of order, the respect for law, is one of the things which man has achieved latest and with the greatest difficulty in his progress from the primeval jungle toward the light." Also as Matthew Arnold said, "without order there can be no society, and without society there can be no human perfection." But to argue from this that any one particular law, government or form of order is essential to human society is neither logical nor in accord with experience. A particular law, government or order may be an anachronism and thoroughly evil. A particular external kind of order, if imposed by force and fear, is almost sure to be psychologically disorderly and anarchical. The disorder and evils which Freud has shown to result from repressions and fears in the individual psyche have their counterpart in the social group-psyche. The institutions and group habits of one time or nation may be thoroughly vicious if maintained after the circumstances to which they were adapted cease to exist, or if applied to another nation or period of time.<sup>8</sup>

It is objected that mass non-violent resistance against a particular law of government which is whole-heartedly disliked will persist as a habit against all laws or governments which may thereafter be established, and therefore will strike at the root of all human progress, but that has not been the effect of any violent revolutions either in

England, France, Russia, Italy, Germany, the United States or elsewhere.

It is not generally argued against any violent revolt or revolution that it was wrong because the disorder thereby created would become chronic and would operate even against the new government that it was proposed to set up. Is it only the novelty of non-violent mass civil disobedience which arouses such a fear in its critics and makes them apparently forget all they know of human nature and habit? Can they not see that a new government created not by violence but by superb disciplined kindness and self-sacrifice would, in the process of its creation, have engendered far fewer fears, jealousies, angers, and hatreds than any States hitherto created, and that therefore it would tend to evoke so much affection and devotion from all the groups of which it was composed that the chances of their revolting against it and using civil non-violent disobedience against it would be much smaller than in the case of a violent State? No doubt, there is a possibility of chronic disobedience developing, but it is not a probability. And since the world has been willing to assume such a risk in cases of violent revolutions, perhaps the doubts of the critics in this new state of affairs can be laid aside.

Human nature and all life, both individual and group, is inherently and necessarily orderly. As long as life is present we may be sure that there is also some sort of order appropriate to it. There is an almost infinite number of different kinds of order. We may be familiar with and

fond of some particular sort of order, but that does not entitle us to believe that it is the only kind of order possible or even desirable. More specifically, in relation to mass non-violent civil disobedience, it was proved conclusively that after non-violent struggles in South Africa, and in the Champaran, Khairā and Bardoli districts of India, the people involved promptly became "orderly" again as soon as the struggles were over. In South Africa the struggle lasted for seven or eight years, but no habit of lawlessness was thereby established. The habits of group association and order are too deep to be destroyed by even twenty years of struggle. In the mass mankind tends to be indolent and patient in regard to public injustices and evils, and only rarely does any considerable group become sufficiently aroused to undergo a prolonged campaign of non-violent resistance. It requires a great and simple issue. As an Indian journal<sup>9</sup> pointed out:

"When a piece of coal gets into your eye in travelling in a railway train, all your efforts for the time being are directed to removing its irritating presence. But when once it is removed, you do not go on repeating the reflex processes which were needed to effect the removal."

Only poor people and subject races and nations realise how oppressive and violent are the existing systems of laws and their administration. Not only are such systems usually violent but, their violence is often so subtle and disguised and pervasive, such a constant repetition of threat, stimulus and suggestion, that it creates abject

cowardice in its victims.<sup>10</sup> This is soul destroying,—much more so than open violence on the part of the oppressed would be. Civil disobedience may be attended with grave risks, but if it has been preceded by a sufficient period of discipline and training among those who initiate it, the risks may justifiably be assumed.

This risk was well described by a friend of mine :

“My distrust in this matter has nothing to do with individuals, whether of the masses or the classes. It is the ‘mob’ that I thoroughly distrust, no matter what its composition, when emotionally aroused and excited. Whether constituted of Bolshevik proletarians or Fascist bourgeoisie, the crowd acting under the impulse of excitement and emotion is unworthy of trust. It is fickle, undependable, unreasoning, ready to die for one to-day and to crucify him the day following. It is at the mercy of eloquent but irresponsible orators. All its lowest passions can be kindled to action far more easily than its higher, and it will easily do things at which the individuals who compose it would shudder when they have been separated from it. Everyone knows, of course, that the real followers and disciples of Gandhi are self-controlled and disciplined. Such persons are never a danger whether as individuals or in the aggregate. The danger lies in the effect of their activities upon the masses, and the mass excitement it engenders. The excited mob witnesses the direct action and the refusal to obey the law; it is aroused by the consequences of such disobedience to an undisciplined emulation.”

It is true that mobs differ from individuals in acting much more quickly and with less restraint in response to their emotions. Most people call

this primitive, but it is also psychologically healthy. As William James has pointed out in his *Principles of Psychology*, it is dangerous and sometimes even morbid merely to repress impulses to action; that all thought and feeling have motor consequences of some sort sooner or later. The mob acts swiftly, but its action is always in accord with its emotion. This constitutes a danger but it also constitutes a wonderful opportunity. It reinforces the truth of the Biblical adage, "Keep thy heart with all diligence, for out of it are the issues of life." It reinforces the absolute necessity of understanding and discipline and training in non-violence over a period of years. It emphasises the importance of having non-violent leaders who have been so devoted to the service of the common people for years as to call forth unshakable trust and willingness to follow.

The frequent cruelty and violence of mobs is said to be due to a certain abnormal mental condition, in which there is "a release of repressed impulses which is made possible because certain controlling ideas have ceased to function in the immediate social environment," and that often one of these repressed impulses is resentment caused by social inferiority.<sup>10a</sup> But a group using non-violent resistance does not lose its self-control, because of its discipline, because the dramatic elements of the method strongly and continually impress upon its members the moral significance of all they do and all the opponents do, and because the truth-seeking nature of the method compels critical scrutiny of sentiments and

motives and helps to prevent their disguise. Furthermore, the use of non-violent resistance diminishes and finally ends any repressed resentment among the crowd by removing the inferiority complexes which caused it.<sup>10b</sup> These factors also tend to control the spectators.

The susceptibility of crowd to violent action is largely due not to inherent defects of the crowd, but rather more to the example set by the leaders of society in their age-long reliance on force and fear as the strongest powers of the State in its conflicts and in public and private conflicts to which the State was not a party. That has been the inner attitude of the leaders and the substratum of their social thinking. Also most of the leaders of society have contributed toward mob violence by creating or maintaining social ranks, grades and distinctions, thereby causing conscious or subconscious inferiority complexes or resentments among the masses. Non-violent leaders set a new example to the people, who after a long enough period of careful instruction, preparation, discipline, and trust-creating activities, find in the new method an outlet for their energies which if pent up would burst out into violence. When an idealistic leader, by long devotion and service to the masses, has won their trust and willingness to follow, he thereby diminishes the usual lag of group morality behind individual morality.<sup>10c</sup>

It may be argued that the forces unleashed by a campaign of non-violent resistance will go far beyond the boundaries intended by its leaders, and will become uncontrollable. That, indeed, is

exactly what happens in a violent war. Mobs do horrible things and so do armies. If in any given war the forces released have not become uncontrollable, it has been due to the discipline of the army and of the civilians. Discipline is also necessarily present in a non-violent struggle, and as it is a finer and profounder discipline than that of military life, its control is surer and more extensive. The forces released may indeed go beyond the first conception of them, but inasmuch as they are constructive and ennobling, why be reluctant to allow them to operate? Whatever forces of disorder may be released, are only temporary and less powerful than the new forces of order.

A campaign of non-violent resistance against the State could not be carried on for long unless it is based on truth and animated by constructive purposes, that is, with a definite plan of reform. The reasons for that are as follows: For a long time to come, such campaigns will be attempted only by groups smaller or weaker than the State or governments of modern nations. The modern State is so powerful, so violent, and so ruthless that it will give a fearfully severe hammering to any movement of non-violent resistance to its authority. The sufferings of such resisters will probably be more intense than those of soldiers in an army opposed to the State, because in modern regular war there is a good deal of chivalry toward prisoners and enemy wounded, with highly organised Red Cross work and excellent hospitals. But toward non-violent

resisters against the State the police are apt to be vindictive and cruel, ordinary prison hospitals to which such resisters would probably be sent are certainly not of the best, nor are jail wardens distinguished for their chivalry. In such a struggle the resisters are subject to many other losses of property, social position, comfort and companionship. From such losses the soldier is relatively free. To withstand such sufferings requires high and firm morale, and such morale can be sustained only by truth and constructive purpose. Hence there is no danger of chaos resulting from non-violent resistance. It creates its own order as it operates. We have previously seen how it operates to bring out truth.<sup>11</sup>

Such factors as these will tend to prevent non-violent resistance from being used by its leaders for purposes that are selfishly aggressive and really socially harmful. Besides these factors there will be as many other checks and restraints upon leaders of non-violent movements as upon leaders of violent movements. Non-violent resistance will not be used more lightly than violence. Even if it were, the results from its use would not be so bad as those from the use of violence.

Gandhi has phrased the point about risk thus :

“ There is danger in civil disobedience only because it is still only a partially tried remedy and has always to be tried in an atmosphere surcharged with violence. For when tyranny is rampant much rage is generated among the victims. It remains latent because of their weakness and bursts in all its fury on the slightest pretext. Civil



disobedience is a sovereign method of transmuting this undisciplined life-destroying latent energy into disciplined life-saving energy whose use ensures absolute success. The attendant risk is nothing compared to the result promised. When the world has become familiar with its use and when it has had a series of demonstrations of its successful working, there will be less risk in civil disobedience than there is in aviation, in spite of that science having reached a high stage of development."<sup>12</sup>

" If it be said that non-violent resistance is a dangerous programme, it must in all fairness be acknowledged, on the record of history, that States, especially in the West, are dangerous programmes."<sup>13</sup>

Sceptics may say that the history of all attempts at peaceful picketing and mass non-violent resistance proves that sooner or later all crowds become violent. That is not correct, as shown in our first chapter and the other instances cited in its notes. It is true that probably the majority of attempts at peaceful picketing and mass non-violent resistance have broken down and become violent, because of lack of previous preparation and discipline. But so did the majority of human attempts to fly fail until sound technical knowledge was developed and put into practice. Police forces, with the acquiescence or secret instigation of governors or employers, have in a very large number of cases used provocative violence, "agents provocateurs" and "frame-ups" against peaceful resisters to enrage them into unpremeditated violence. But understanding, preparation and an adequate course of discipline in non-violent

resistance has, in some cases and could in all, put an end to such failures.

More specifically it may be alleged that the violence in India in 1920-21 and again since the beginning of the civil disobedience in India in 1930 proves that such a method cannot help breaking out into violence, owing to the indiscipline, ignorance and prevailing habits of mind of the masses.

But the weight of evidence is to the contrary. Mr. Haig, the Home Member of the Indian Government, in charge of law and order, is reported to have said in the Indian Legislative Assembly on July 12, 1930,—<sup>14</sup> "I freely admit that in the majority of cases there has been the method of non-violence though there are cases in which non-violence has completely failed." Mr. George Slocombe, special correspondent in India of the London *Daily Herald* and eye-witness of many of the struggles, wrote:<sup>15</sup> "Whatever may be the political implications of the civil disobedience movement which he (Gandhi) inaugurated this year, and in spite of the incidents of violence which were the indirect results of his campaign, it must be admitted on the whole that Gandhi's teaching of non-violence has been scrupulously observed." Other British and American eye-witnesses are in agreement.<sup>16</sup>

Yet, apart from all this evidence, I believe we must suspend final judgment on this aspect of the Indian situation. We know from our experience in the World War that in times of crisis all governments seek to justify their acts by official statements. These are written upon information

supplied by subordinate officials who, naturally, are anxious to justify their own acts and the acts of their subordinates, and also who are anxious not to seem to criticise their superior officers. Hence all such statements are necessarily biased. Most of the alleged "Belgian atrocities" of the World War turned out later to be wholly false and non-existent. More specifically, the Government of India in 1919 suppressed all news of the Amritsar massacre, so that the news of it did not reach England and the United States for months after the event. Also in the struggles of 1930 and at present there is a rigid Government press ordinance or law and censorship which prevents the Indian side from being adequately presented.<sup>16</sup> Also there is the fact that the West understands and is interested in violence, but does not yet understand non-violent resistance. Non-violence has not yet a "news-value" except when it is strongly dramatic. Hence the press dispatches of Western correspondents in India naturally tend to play up the instances of violence and to overlook the instances of non-violent resistance except when they are especially dramatic. Nevertheless, there is considerable evidence to show that the vastly greater part of the struggles of 1930 and 1932, and up to the time of this writing,<sup>17</sup> has been non-violent on the part of the Indians.<sup>18</sup> Undoubtedly there are some Indians who, by reason of conviction or lack of discipline, have indulged in violence, but they are very few,—far fewer, by comparison, than we are accustomed to in the West.<sup>19</sup>

It may be said that no government can permit a campaign of non-violent resistance or of civil disobedience to develop, for "the first business of a government is to govern," i.e., compel people to obey its laws. But such a conception of the functions of government is mistaken. There is an essential preliminary to the act of governing; namely, obtaining the consent of those who are to be governed. The first business of a government is so to act as to win the trust, affection and consent of a large numerical majority, and if possible, all of the people who are to be governed. That is, to be the servant of the people, not their master. That is true in the long run of even a dictatorship. A consent secured by fear or fraud is never lasting and can never be a sound foundation for government. And a political philosophy which not only recognises men's weaknesses but utilises, plays upon and extends such weaknesses for the benefit of its votaries will not for long command the following of mankind. It is true that law and order are essential to any form of peaceful government, but such law and order must be in consonance with the inner nature and psychological realities of the governed people and in consonance with the principle of the moral and spiritual unity of mankind.

Let us consider other criticisms.

Is non-violent resistance unconstitutional? "The word 'constitutional,' as applied to methods of reform, usually means an attempt to gain a political majority by means of discussion and persuasion of words, in the press and on the

platform, and to register and make effective the wishes of that majority through the legislative and executive branches of government, in parliament and among the permanent administrative staff of officials, and also through the financial and other economic controlling forces of the country.

“Non-violent resistance includes all that, but it goes further. To the persuasion of words it adds the persuasion of example and deed, the persuasive force of the sight of courageous men so fully convinced of the rightness of their cause that they seek arrest and quietly go to prison for their faith. The persuasion of such a method is just as peaceful as that of so-called ‘constitutional agitation,’ and it is more potent, swifter, prompter, simpler (and therefore better understood by the masses), more direct, more responsible, more sincere, and more lasting. It is less capable of perversion by sinister forces acting in the darkness of legislative committee room, of diplomatic councils and bureaucratic intrigues. It is less apt to whittle down public feeling and thwart public desire. It is more likely to lead to ultimate mutual respect and real fundamental agreement by all parties on any given issue.”<sup>20</sup> Although new as a mode of political action, it is consistent with and indeed necessary to the finest forms of human association. Political democracy implies government by consent, as the very act of voting indicates. Consent implies a right of dissent and refusal or veto, with a cheerful willingness to pay the price of such action. Non-violent resistance

will solve many political and social problems of minorities.

Non-violent resistance is not treacherous, because it is always truthful, open, frank and above-board. It can succeed only by open truth, without secrets, tricks, evasions, omissions of fact, or distortions. Non-violent resistance is not Communistic, by reason of its non-violence.<sup>21</sup> It is not Socialistic, especially not Marxian, for it is not primarily a theory of a specific form of government. Nor is it based upon the "materialist" interpretation of history.

Is it or can it ever be seditious; that is, creative of disaffection toward or discontent with the government of which the non-violent resister is a citizen? It is not, of itself, necessarily seditious, because it may be used not against a government but against a private person or a corporation-employer. Or, if it is used against a government it may be only in opposition to a particular law, and not against the government as such. Nor is it intrinsically seditious any more than voting, public speaking, meetings, parades, newspapers, organisations, clubs, guns, or any of the other means and instruments of ordinary social and political life. But like any one or all of them, it may, if need be, on occasion, be used for seditious or subversive purposes. If necessity should ever arise for sedition, as the Declaration of Independence of the United States tells us it may, then non-violent resistance is certainly the best way in which to express it.

In most men's minds hitherto, sedition has always been associated with violence, and therefore considered morally wrong. But Gandhi has proved that sedition can be separated from violence. Non-violent sedition would seem to be not morally wrong. For a government to try to prosecute it would seem to be unintelligent, for various reasons.

After all, most modern governments owe their very existence to successful sedition and rebellion. Great Britain had her Cromwell; the United States, her George Washington; France grew out of the French Revolution; Germany had her recent revolution; also Italy, Russia, Turkey, China, Mexico and all the Central and South American countries. When sedition is successful, it is considered heroism. Sedition is wicked only when it is unsuccessful.

Again, there is the hard moral fact of the actual character of the State as revealed on the record. It can hardly be doubted that the history of the State, more than of any other institution, is full of violence. As it stands before the moral bar of mankind and asks judgment against non-violent resisters, the State should remember the two old rules of equity, "He who seeks equity must do equity," and "He who seeks equity must come into court with clean hands." There are many who are not generally considered pacifists but who nevertheless feel that in many respects the State has a very faulty record.

Sedition is one kind of opposition to the general will of the nation. But that general will

is not a rigid or static thing; it is constantly altering as it faces new conditions and new problems. The general will is made up of a consensus of many ideas and purposes interacting and fermenting together in a process of discussion and action. Different individuals, parties and groups propound their ideas and try to persuade others to adopt them on a wide enough scale to make it a general will or purpose. A movement of a non-violent resistance is merely one of many modes of political persuasion. For individual use it is really much older than the initiative, referendum and recall. As it is wholly peaceful in manner, purpose and result, it is thoroughly healthy. It wins or loses on the merits of its cause and the merits of its methods, without threats or violence or hatred of any sort. It is a method of attempting to reform certain established practices, not by violent or unfair coercion, but by kindly persuasion.<sup>22</sup> To prosecute it in the courts would seem to be only a legal excuse for putting rebels into jail, a juristic way of trying to prove that might is right, or that whatever is, is right.

True law is created and enforced not by command but by consensus. In actual practice, laws are often nullified either by obsolescence, by local opposition, or by lack of serious legislative intent. Many statutes have been enacted which do not represent the true consensus of opinion. That consensus is always growing and changing. Disregard of one law for moral reasons does not destroy respect for all laws. The "Blue Laws"



of Massachusetts are still on the statute books and are completely disregarded. Yet the people there are not generally lawless. Since non-violent resistance is a mode of ascertaining or testing the true consensus of public opinion, it is to be welcomed as an aid to stable government and a sensitive public conscience.<sup>23</sup>

Non-violent resistance tests the sincerity of the government and also that of the resisters. It is a method of search for social truth, and is strongly creative of the finest types of association and group life. No just government need fear it. If met in the right way, it will help to conserve the best elements in every government. But it puts the moral profession of every government to an acid test, as to whether it really exists for the benefit of the governed. It is not by itself a system of government, but it gives the people power by which they may compel the government to be their servant and do their will, or by which they may create a new government expressive of their will. In political, economic and social affairs the thinking and initiative come necessarily from individuals, usually those who are well educated. The mass of mankind can only say yes or no to such proposals, though usually their power to obstruct is neither strong nor permanent, because the ruling classes have such immensely superior powers of prestige, propaganda, political skill and organisation, self-confidence, finance, economic pressure, and violence through police and militia. Non-violent resistance gives the masses a really effective power of veto. Yet that need not alarm

educated people for it does not deprive them of their inherent advantage of initiative. It merely teaches and eventually requires them to use their initiative and intelligence for sound social purposes. With non-violent resistance there will be no dictatorship of any sort. Power is said ordinarily to be poisonous to the character of the person or group which exercises it. But power won and maintained by non-violent resistance, truth and open dealing, voluntary self-suffering, creative kindness, service and humility will not be poisonous to its possessors or harmful to the State.

Gandhi's Non-Co-operative Movement in 1922 was an instance where non-violent resistance was used for sedition. Gandhi became convinced that the British Government in India did much more harm than good, that it had violated its pledges countless times, and was beyond possibility of reform as an alien government there. He, therefore, made a determined effort to get rid of it by non-violent methods, and nearly succeeded. When arrested and tried he pleaded guilty to the charge of sedition, and requested the court to give him a maximum sentence, as a part of the voluntary suffering which he believed to be an essential part of the persuasion and purification of non-violent resistance. As an indication of the plane upon which the whole struggle took place let me quote a few of the opening words from the decision of the District and Sessions Judge, Mr. C. N. Broomfield, I. C. S., who sentenced him:

"Mr. Gandhi, you have made my task easy in one way by pleading guilty to the charge. Nevertheless, what remains, namely, the determination of a just sentence, is perhaps as difficult a proposition as a judge in this country could have to face. The law is no respecter of persons. Nevertheless, it will be impossible to ignore the fact that you are in a different category from any person I have ever tried or am likely to have to try. It would be impossible to ignore the fact that, in the eyes of millions of your countrymen, you are a great patriot and a great leader. Even those who differ from you in politics look upon you as a man of high ideals and of noble and of even saintly life. I have to deal with you in one character only. It is not my duty and I do not presume to judge or criticise you in any other character."<sup>24</sup>

Surely no *just* government should be afraid to meet the test of that sort of a struggle. And if that be sedition, it certainly is not hatred of persons, nor anything that any man need be ashamed of.

If democracy is a form of moral and spiritual association, then creative non-violence is a thing to be, not excluded, but welcomed as essential to our group life.

## CHAPTER XI

### BIOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

PHYSIOLOGICALLY the function of fear and anger seems to be to prepare the body for action in the nature of flight or fight. This preparation includes the integration and stimulus of the entire body,—the brain, the nerves controlling the voluntary muscles, the sympathetic nervous system, the respiratory system, the blood circulation, and the activity of various glands, including the thyroid, the adrenals, and the liver, which throw into the blood-stream substances which help to form energy.<sup>1</sup> And as ideas are largely in the nature of plans or patterns for possible conduct, fear and anger affect the mind also. In one aspect, fear and anger may be regarded as states of transition from a less intense to a more intense level of activity.<sup>2</sup>

In all animal life and in the long early ages of the history of man, while he was but little more than a hunting animal, most of the dangers which confronted the organism required immediate motor response, either flight or fight. Through all this long evolutionary period, therefore, fear and anger were immensely valuable in conserving the species. This long period of exercise also established these reactions as firm habits.

But nowadays fear and anger are not as useful or necessary to mankind as they were formerly. Man's knowledge of nature and its

possible perils has enormously increased, and with it his control of most of the situations in which he finds himself. His invention of tools and chemical and electrical appliances has immensely increased his ability to perceive and act at a distance. His discovery of coal, oil and electricity has given him vast sources of power. His foresight has lengthened. His intellectual ability to solve problems involving danger to him has greatly increased. His economic, social and political organisation has become much more close and complex and massive. All this has resulted in very largely abolishing the old dangerous situations which were best met by instantaneous motor response. Instead, we meet perils which usually gather more slowly and are so complex that there is no immediate instinctive motor responses which can cope with them effectively. Such present-day enemies are psychological or economic failure, disease, poverty, social losses, etc. Caution, foresight and intellectual powers are far more effective against such dangers than physical flight or combat could be. Human energy is needed, but less muscular and more intellectual and moral.

Purely muscular energy is not so much needed by mankind as formerly, for various reasons. For his food man no longer relies on the chase, but on farming, and in farming he has various tools and machines which relieve him of much labour. Coal, oil, water power and electricity now provide a very large part of the motive power of the world. In every nation and

tribe there are now systems of group activity and organisation and division of labour which reduce the total amount of bodily motor activity necessary to maintain life. The growth of population, and developments of transport, communication, commerce and financial credit have made the factors of co-operation and group relationship and integration much more important to the life of the race. Thus bodily activity has gradually become less important, and factors of intellect and sentiment and co-operation have become more important in relation to the survival and progress of mankind.

Since sudden and intense muscular activity has become less exclusively important, the chief emotional stimuli and preparations for such activity,—namely, fear and anger,—have also become less necessary and valuable to mankind.

Furthermore, man seems now to have reached a stage in his history where fear and anger are not merely less important but have become a positive detriment. They have become hygienically bad for the individual and the race. Let us consider the evidence in support of this conclusion.

Eminent physiologists tell us that fear and anger are the most exhausting of the emotions, and are even more exhausting than actual bodily labour. Dr. George W. Crile, the great American surgeon, writes :<sup>3</sup>

“Fear arose from injury, and is one of the oldest and surely the strongest emotion. . . . The mechanism by which the motor acts are performed and the mechanism by which the emotions are expressed are one and

the same. . . . Because fear was created by trauma (injury), fear causes a discharge of the energy of the nervous system by the law of phylogenetic association. . . . It was previously stated that under the stimulus of fear animals show preternatural strength. An analysis of the phenomena of fear shows that, as far as can be determined, all the functions of the body requiring the expenditure of energy, and which are of no direct assistance in the effort toward self-preservation are suspended. In the voluntary expenditure of muscular energy, as in the chase, the suspension of other functions is by no means so complete. Fear and trauma may drain to the last dregs the dischargeable nervous energy, and, therefore, the greatest possible exhaustion may be produced by fear and trauma."

Cannon showed that the physiological processes and results of anger and fear are exactly the same.<sup>4</sup> Hence Crile's remarks about fear apply to anger also.

Crile's later researches lead him to still stronger statements. In his book *A Physical Interpretation of Shock*<sup>5</sup> he says:

"Emotion causes a more rapid exhaustion than is caused by exertion, or by trauma, except extensive mangling of the tissue, or by any toxic stimulus except the perforation of the viscera."

Cannon, in a most interesting and conclusive fashion, proved that in both anger and fear there is complete suspension of all the activities of the entire digestive tract,—no secretion of digestive juices and no muscular activity,—and that this practical paralysis may last for several hours after the emotion is felt, if it was intense.<sup>6</sup> This, if prolonged or frequently repeated, is, of course,

very detrimental to the digestive system. Crile says :

"In our experiments, fear caused profound changes in the cells of the brain, the liver and the adrenals; in some cases the blood was acutely acidosed; in some cases albumin and sugar appeared in the urine; the adrenalin output, as has been demonstrated by Cannon, was increased; the electric conductivity of the brain, the liver, and of other organs, was altered."<sup>7</sup>

Cannon proved that in fear and anger there is an increase of adrenalin and of sugar in the blood.<sup>7a</sup> He and Crile and others also showed that adrenalin in the blood causes increased metabolism, increased thyroid activity, increased blood pressure, increased pulse, increased respiration, leucocytosis, increased sweating, dilation of the pupils, diversion of blood to the surface of the body and increased brain activity.

In modern life, although there are many occasions which serve to arouse fear or anger in more or less intense forms, there is relatively little opportunity among adults to express them by combat or running away. Hence there may tend to be in the blood of many people an excess of adrenalin and sugar which does not get worked off by physical exertion or other protective processes. For instance, Cannon experimentally tested the blood of all the students in one of his classes in the medical school, then announced that he would give them a stiff examination and let them worry about it for a few hours, after which he tested their blood again. In every one of them he found an increase of sugar in the blood. This



indicates that the lesser forms of fear and anger, such as anxiety, worry, apprehension, irritation, annoyance and vexation create results which are the same in quality though less intense than those of acute fear and anger.

Both Cannon and Crile produce evidence to show that if the excessive adrenalin and blood-sugar produced by fear and anger are not consumed by action, they cause physical injury to the body. <sup>8</sup> It appears that this physical injury is largely in the nature of an acidosis, too much to be handled by the protective "buffer action" of the blood cells,—an increased hydrogen-ion concentration of the blood, and a decreased alkaline reserve.<sup>9</sup> Chronic or frequent anxiety or irritation also create dyspepsia and other digestive diseases, because of the inhibitory effect above described.

Elsewhere<sup>10</sup> Crile states that the maintenance of the normal slightly alkaline reaction of the body is of very great importance; that "acidosis is a factor in many diseases—acute and chronic" . . . and suggests "that the ultimate cause of death is usually acidosis." Possibly increased hydrogen-ion concentration in the blood and decreased alkaline reserve tend to lower the immunity of the body toward germ diseases, and also weaken certain tissues and organs such as the kidneys, heart and other blood vessels.

The hypothesis that fear and anger in various degrees of intensity are an important factor predisposing to disease would help explain the influenza epidemic in 1918 after a considerable

period of anxiety and hatred due to the war and further anxieties of economic origin. It would partly account for the higher disease rates among the very poor who suffer so much from anxiety, especially in such poverty-stricken countries as India and China. It would help explain the diseases of childhood, the time of emotional strains due to the growth of self-consciousness and adaptations to other people and new situations. It would help explain the rise in the death rate from heart disease, hardening of the arteries, and kidney diseases in Western civilised countries where the strains of modern life are so great and where there is so much sedentary life. It might be shown that other great epidemics were preceded by periods of economic hardship or insecurity or by severe wars.

Nietzsche, in a passage in *Ecce Homo*<sup>11</sup> condemning resentment as a very weakening emotion, wrote :

"This was fully grasped by that profound physiologist Buddha. His 'religion,' which it would be better to call a system of hygiene, . . . depended for its effect upon the triumph over resentment: to make the soul free therefore was considered the first step toward recovery. 'Not through hostility is hostility put to flight; through friendship does hostility end': this stands at the beginning of Buddha's teaching—this is not a precept of morality but of physiology."

The above-described medical researches give good professional authority in support of this conclusion of Nietzsche. To avoid anger is sound hygiene. They indicate that non-violent resistance

is a "manipulative activity" of very great hygienic importance both to individuals and to the human race. The first nation to adopt it in a thorough-going fashion,—making it a discipline for all phases of national, group and private life,—would probably soon be rewarded with a remarkable improvement in its public health.

Thus, although fear and anger were once efficient energisers of the sort needed to meet the perils of life in the early history of mankind, they have now, because of the great change in our conditions, probably become not only inefficient but positively detrimental. There is good ground for believing that now they are no longer biologically efficient emotions, and should no longer be considered normal.<sup>12</sup> This indicates that the idea of putting a child or opponent or incipient criminal "in healthy fear" of doing something is, in modern times, wholly mistaken. Fear is no longer a healthy condition, but thoroughly morbid and dangerous to all concerned.

It is of course true that men and animals who possess extraordinary dominace power often permit some of this power to break over and be wasted in anger. Such people often succeed over weaker opponents, but they succeed not because of their anger, but in spite of it and because of their superior dominance. The anger is always a waste and handicap.<sup>13</sup> The fact that anger is perhaps the deepest and most persistent of the emotions does not prove that it is now the most important, but may rather argue that it is the least "intelligent" of them all.<sup>14</sup> Anger short-circuits too

much energy into friction and purely bodily channels, and because of its blinding and confusing effect on the mind, it misdirects too large a part of the total supply of human energy. The economics of energy must include all human energy.

It appears in the present stage of man's progress that love, such as is found in true non-violent resistance, is a more efficient method of arousing, sustaining and guiding energy than is either fear or anger. This is a repetition, from another angle of approach, of what we stated as to the creative power of love.

Moreover, inasmuch as the nervous integrative mechanism of man has not changed for the past 10,000 years or more, it would appear that all kinds of men now on earth, from the most savage tribes to the most civilised nations, except perhaps certain types of mentally diseased persons, are capable of responding to non-violent kindly treatment. This is further indicated by the fact that savages have responded favourably and promptly to non-violent resistance.<sup>15</sup>

We have been waiting for sufficient social experience to make it possible for leaders possessed of unusual insight and wisdom to realise the truth of non-violent resistance. Such men as Buddha, Lao-Tsu, Christ, Gandhi and others have seen it and practised it. All that remains is for the rest of mankind to take up this instrument, practise with it and perfect it. We are all capable of using it if we will only try hard enough. Our facilities of physical power, organisation, credit,

language, scientific knowledge, etc. are now such that fighting and violence are no longer necessary for either security or for the right kind of power or biological fitness. The customary expressions of pugnacity are no longer useful to the human species. It is time for pugnacity to be transformed, just as many rudimentary instincts have been transformed, and its energies sublimated and used for creative ends.<sup>16</sup>

Some say that war is biologically necessary as a means of selection, and biologically inevitable because the instinct of pugnacity cannot be altered. They say that any attempt to suppress this instinct would be psychologically harmful to the individual and the race. But careful study shows that of all the vertebrates man is the only one which indulges in organised mass fighting to the death against his own species, and that war is not a biological phenomenon but a human custom.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, it needs but a moment's consideration to realise that every single instinct in mankind has undergone immense alterations and sublimations. Irrespective of whether or not we can change human nature, we certainly can change human behaviour. For example, the whole art and training of war is a profound and complete alteration and discipline of the emotion of fear and the instinct of flight. In the struggle for existence, victory is to the adaptable and not necessarily to the strong.

Force has its place in the world. Death is necessary to new life and creation, as the Hindu indicates by the attributes of Siva and Kali, and as

Christ said in the verse "Except a grain of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth by itself alone; but if it die, it beareth much fruit," and "He that loseth his life shall save it." But this is no reason why man should slay man.

"The watchwords of the nineteenth century have been, struggle for existence, competition, class warfare, commercial antagonism between nations, military warfare. The struggle for existence has been construed into the gospel of hate. The full conclusion to be drawn from a philosophy of evolution is fortunately of a more balanced character. Successful organisms modify their environment. Those organisms are successful which modify their environments so as to assist each other. This law is exemplified in nature on a vast scale. . . . A forest is the triumph of the organisation of mutually dependent species. There is something in the ready use of force which defeats its own object. Its main defect is that it bars co-operation. Every organism requires an environment of friends, partly to shield it from violent changes, and partly to supply it with its wants. The Gospel of Force is incompatible with a social life. *By force*, I mean *antagonism* in its most general sense."<sup>18</sup>

Thus gentleness, *ahimsa* as the Hindus call it, is an important and necessary principle of social life. It is a means of expressing the essential unity of mankind and indeed of all life. And its psychological effect upon a person toward whom it is exhibited is to induce a corresponding kindliness or perhaps love, a similar recognition of unity and kinship. The unity of mankind is biological, psychological, moral, and, for those who believe in spirit, spiritual.

Self-defence and self-preservation have come to mean the defence and preservation of the larger self, or of the race-self. Better individual and public health as well as better political, economic and social life will result from the use of non-violent resistance.

As Lotka says:<sup>19</sup> "The life contest is primarily a competition for available energy." Fullness of life requires an increase of energy flowing through mankind, individually and as a species. The total solar energy reaching the earth is far beyond the needs of mankind. We know that only by close co-operation can man increase his utilisation of solar energy, and that this applies to large groups as well as the smallest group (the family). War and violence and divisive attitudes spell eventual biological suicide. It might be argued that a person who uses non-violent resistance and gets killed while so doing is a biological failure. Not so, for by his example and influence he has increased the knowledge and skill of humanity in regard to this weapon and increased the probability of its further use. This is of great value to the survival of the human race.

It may be shown that many sorts of repression or thwarting of satisfaction of normal instincts and desires result in forms of anxiety or irritation (fear or anger). The free play of normal instincts and desires in individual and group life is one definition of liberty. Thus the attaining of political and economic and social liberty really means the attaining of control by groups and individuals over the means of satisfying their normal instincts

and needs. Since lack of liberty creates fear and anger, and fear and anger help to create disease, liberty is synonymous with health. Non-violent resistance thus becomes a precious instrument for the service of man.



## CHAPTER XII

### DOUBTS AND QUERIES

MANY of the commonly voiced doubts about the character of non-violent resisters have already been answered either directly or by clear implication. Some other adverse criticisms deserve detailed examination.

It is asserted that non-violent resistance means peace at any price. This is not so. The non-violent resister does not confuse peace with absence of conflict. He recognises that there will always be conflicts of human ideas, desires and wills. He recognises that peace does require a price, but he does not ask others to pay the price before he pays it. He steps forward and pays the first instalment of the price himself, and continues to pay until others are constrained to share in the expense by force of example. He estimates perhaps more accurately than the militarist the full, long-time price we pay for war, violence, anger and hate, those things which enforce the kind of "peace" which we now endure. He believes that if we really want a better world, we must be ready to pay a bigger price for it than we have paid hitherto. The true non-violent resister pays as utterly and completely as any soldier,—with his life and treasure of every sort. Only he is more realistic than the soldier, for he knows that other men beside himself have carried on the ideals of the world and even of his own country,

and that they may be trusted to do so even though, and probably just because he sacrifices himself for those ideals. Many of the people who accuse non-violent resisters of wanting peace at any price usually want only their own very special brand of peace and want other people to pay most of the price. Or at least they want the opportunity to try to compel others to pay most of the price.

Professor Ralph Barton Perry wields a vigorous pen in favour of war when he writes:

"If one is prepared to renounce the existent world and the achievements of history one may perhaps escape the need of war. But let no man fail to realise that he has then virtually given up the whole achievement of the race, all the fruits of all the painful toil of men, even the spiritual fruits of culture and character. For these spiritual fruits are individual lives which may be as utterly destroyed as the work of man's hands. It is futile to argue that the good life cannot be destroyed by an enemy. It is true that it cannot be corrupted and made evil. But it may be killed. The good life is more than mere goodness; it is a *living* goodness, embodied in existence and conduct. He who slays a just man or annihilates a free and happy society, undoes the work of moral progress as fatally, nay more fatally, than he who corrupts them with injustice and slavery. For in the latter case there at least remain the latent capacities by which civilisation may be rebuilt. Those who insist on the distinction between might and right and accuse the warrior of practising might in the name of right, are likely on their part to forget that the work of civilisation is to make the right also *mighty*, so that it may obtain among men and prevail. This end is not to be realised

by any philosophy of abstinence and contemplation, but only by a use of the physical forces by which things are brought to exist and by which alone they are made secure against violence and decay."<sup>1</sup>

One fallacy in Professor Perry's argument is cogently shown in some lines by William Blake, as commented upon by Mr. Richard Roberts :

"He who would do good to another must do it in Minute Particulars.

General Good is the plea of the scoundrel, hypocrite, and flatterer;

For art and Science cannot exist but in minutely organised Particulars,

And not in generalising Demonstrations of the Rational Power."<sup>2</sup>

. . . "Abstract moral ideas are mere creatures of the mind, and possess no concrete existence save as actual relations between persons. It is easy to utter large sounding generalities about justice and liberty and to think and speak of them as objective realities in themselves, whereas they do not have any actual substance apart from persons. That is why so many crimes have been committed in the name of justice and of liberty. It is possible to deny them to men in the very act of defending them. We may belie our ideals by the very means we use to reach them. The one sovereign sanctity is personality; the sacredness of justice and liberty is a derivative from this. They are holy because they are the only conditions under which personality can rise to its full stature; and they are not to be fought for by any method which dishonours personality. That were to subordinate the greater to the less, to undermine and destroy the foundations on which one professes to be building. It is personality—at once a Minute Particular and the one real Universal—that supremely matters.

True reverence for and a right relation to personality—this is the law and the prophets. . . . Selfishness, whether of the individual or of the group, is the abiding curse.”<sup>3</sup>

The non-violent resister believes that the principle of good will cannot be established among men by methods which are in themselves the opposite of good will. He claims that the agent sinks or rises inevitably to the level of the methods which he employs. Therefore, he cannot use or support violence.

But many idealistic militarists reply that it is possible to handle pitch without being defiled. Their position was well stated by Mr. Charles E. Park.<sup>4</sup>

“I claim the right to draw a sharp line between the quality of my outward actions and the quality of my inner frame of mind, my mood, my motive. Physical violence does not inevitably connote spiritual violence. Stern, repressive, coercive measures of the hands may spring from inner fountains of unalloyed good will. . . . Good will has its seat primarily in the heart; and . . . so long as it is enthroned securely in the heart, it is possible and safe, and sometimes practically necessary, to protect it as a principle by means of outward coercion.”

Mr. Park may be right in regard to certain limited kinds of action as, for instance, controlling a dangerous lunatic, under limited circumstances. But his statement would not justify anyone in going to war, because in war the exigencies of actual combat inevitably produce anger, hatred and fear. As soon as Mr. Park’s ideal soldier felt anger or hate he would have to resign (i. e. desert) and take the consequences, if he is to restore or

maintain the integrity of his inner feeling. Armies could hardly be maintained on that basis. William James in his *Psychology* describes the debilitating effect of failing to express emotion by some sort of appropriate action. Somehow the emotion of love or good will dies if the subsequent action is not loving. Killing a man in war and thereby causing sorrow to his dear ones, an economic loss all around, and frequently an uneasy feeling within one's self somehow does not seem very loving. If you have to love general principles or a particular nation so much as to hate and kill people in order to maintain the object of your love, much doubt arises.

The believer in non-violence therefore objects to Professor Perry's assumption that physical forces and violence are the same, when he speaks of "a use of the physical forces by which things are brought to exist and by which alone they are made secure against violence and decay." Violence does not create human life nor secure it against violence or decay.

The gentle resister is more realistic and scientific in his thinking than Professor Perry. The believer in non-violence recognises that no matter what his beliefs and convictions are, he may possibly be mistaken or at fault. This he realises even though millions of people share in his convictions. The validity of his caution seems justified by the continued existence of many hoary errors and by many of the experiences and revelations of the World War. Indeed, the passions

of war time are certain to cause grave errors of judgment.

As a corollary of this reservation, he recognises that the militarist may possibly be mistaken in thinking that his particular system of thought, belief, ideals or institutions are sufficiently worth while preserving to justify killing people who oppose them. If the non-violent resister has made a mistake, he is ready to suffer for it himself, but he tries to bear the whole burden himself and shrinks from allowing his opponent to suffer if he can prevent it. Possibly the ideals that are best for all humanity may be sufficiently worth while for that, but possibly he is mistaken in thinking that his ideals are of that universal nature. Professor Perry seems to overlook this possibility of error.

Some militarists tend to confuse ideals with a particular set of institutions, and some of them are more apt to fight for the institutions than for the ideals, with the belief that an ideal can be expressed by only one particular, fixed, familiar kind of institution. And they fail to see that "it is not dying which is the distinctive act of war, but killing."<sup>5</sup>

A non-violent resister believes that killing or harming another man is *not* the essential proof of his own courage, nor the only courageous or effective mode of struggle. He believes that if he stoutly proclaims and stands by and works for an ideal and is killed for it without himself doing violence, that such action is far more apt to arouse and even create other strong upholders and builders of that ideal who will make it continue to

live creatively among men than if he were to kill or injure some other men who are opponents of that ideal. True, if he were violent, he might be killed while trying to kill others. But that attempt to kill or injure others indicates, in the minds of those open to influence, a possibility of selfishness which somehow detracts from the force of his example. Certainly that is the argument among his foes, at least. But the violent death of a non-violent resister while upholding his ideal exerts an exceedingly powerful influence among his opponents as well as his friends. His utter sincerity has no drag of even a suspicion of selfishness. His example is certain to strengthen, in the lives of other men, the force of his ideal.

The soldier seems to think that unless he kills *somebody else*, his own particular kind of ideal will not live. The non-violent resister, on the other hand, believes that many ideals have been maintained and transmitted without violence before he was born, that many other men are as capable as himself of carrying on the ideals of the world and even of his own country, and that they may be trusted to do so even though and probably just because he allows himself to be killed while stoutly maintaining those ideals, yet without violence.<sup>6</sup>

It has often been asserted that pacifism exaggerates the value of human life; that it fails to see that certain ideals which give life value are more important than life itself. For this reason pacifists are accused of being materialists at heart, of imagining that physical wounds are worse than

mental or moral outrages. The idealistic militarist says that his "ideal is not the preservation of human life, but the preservation of a certain type of human life; and the establishment of those principles under which this type of human life can best survive."<sup>7</sup>

The non-violent resister does not deny for an instant that certain ideals are more important than the physical life of an individual or of many individuals. He believes that if there are certain moral or spiritual values more important than physical life, then that justifies him if need be in sacrificing himself for them, but not necessarily in sacrificing another against his will.

It is not merely that he feels the judgment of mankind to be fallible, though such fallibility has been clearly enough exemplified by the disclosures during and after the World War. He believes that dying for one's ideals, with non-violent resistance, is one way to make those ideals live; but killing or wounding another person for the sake of his own ideals kills or maims those ideals as well. The voluntary giving of a life produces a profounder realisation *by all* of the ultimate unity of all human life and of the reality, value and power of ideals, and also subsequent action upon that realisation, than any taking or damaging of lives can accomplish. If human life is to some extent sacred, the voluntary giving of it tends to make it more sacred, and is creative; but the taking or injuring of another's life against his will does not help make any life more sacred.



The non-violent resister feels compelled to trust his own judgment for his own guidance and action, but he does not feel "all at sea" or ready to "give up the game of living" merely because he cannot, on occasion, kill someone else out of sheer idealism or for any other reason.

Another gentleman argues thus: . . . "Physical life and all material resources are but means to human welfare, and must be subordinated, nay sacrificed, to its interests. . . . In peaceful times we wear out physical life gradually on its behalf, and in so doing maintain it; in time of war we offer up on its behalf physical life all at once."<sup>8</sup> He may be right that under present conditions the difference between peace-time and war-time destruction of life is largely one of time-scale only. But it is no more right for me slowly to starve or poison or bleed to death another person than to do it rapidly by swords, guns, navies, explosives and poison gas. One may wear himself out gradually for the public welfare if he wishes, or others may voluntarily follow his example, but he may not rightly compel them by violence to do so.

It is said that non-violent resistance is a surrender of the right of self-defence. Not so. It changes radically the method of defence and perhaps somewhat enlarges the conception of the self, but the defence is still there, active, alert and effective.

Someone said that it exaggerates war's horrors and undervalues its idealisms. The recent crop of war stories by soldiers seems to cover the matter of war's horrors without any further comments from others. Many soldiers are obeying their conscien-

ces as sensitively and devotedly as any non-violent resister or any saint. The idealism of warriors is recognised and praised by every lover of the truth, among whom the non-violent resister strives to be numbered. We have tried to express such fair valuation in an earlier chapter of this book.

Is it a desire for bloodlessness rather than for peace? No, for the non-violent resister is ready to offer his own blood, though not to take that of another. But he believes that certain kinds of peace are only the peace of a jail, maintained solely by violence and bloodshed. He would strive to replace such forms of peace by others more secure, more prosperous and more happy because more in harmony with the best and most fundamental characteristics of human nature.

Then there is the charge that the non-violent resister in time of war is and has been accepting all the benefits of the government, the vigilance, energy, devotion, self-sacrifice, blood and treasure of soldiers and others, but is refusing to aid the government in its time of danger. He is called mean, dishonourable, a poltroon, a slacker, a parasite. He will not himself commit what he considers a sin, but is willing to let others do it and then he takes the benefit. Contrast with him the soldier. "The essential thing in the character of the soldier thus appears: he is *the man who declines to take shelter from those perils at the cost of anybody else.*"<sup>9</sup> Is this refusal to be protected the property of the soldier alone, or is it shared by the sincere pacifist?

Let us consider this charge in two separate cases, first, where the non-violent resister has held this belief and lived accordingly for a reasonable period before the particular war threatened; and second, where he reached his belief only at or soon after the declaration of war, perfectly sincerely but only waked up to a full realisation and understanding of war by the impact of the fact itself.

Assuming that he has been a non-violent resister for some time, what is his situation? He is in a world that believes in war. His parents did not consult him as to where he should be born or brought up. The governments of all countries believe in war and practise it. It will do him no good to leave his own country. He cannot find another free from war beliefs. Besides he may be too poor to go. And why should he try to escape, merely to save his own skin? He is like a man who believes in fresh clear air but finds his business keeps him in the smoky city of London or St. Louis. Although he gets the benefit of such air as exists, is he not justified in staying there and agitating for the abolition of the smoke nuisance? May a believer in good government not consistently live in a city or country whose government is bad and work to try to improve it? Can he not work more efficiently among people whose minds, feelings, attitudes, habits and language, he knows best? Meanwhile, he is of course accepting whatever benefits may come from the partial goodness of that government. But if a corrupt mayor and city council, without his consent

or possible control, run the city into fearful debt, would he be morally dishonourable in refusing to pay his taxes and otherwise starting objection and agitation to somehow correct or alleviate the wrong? Would that be a base parasitic action as respects the other taxpayers?

The non-violent resister inclines to believe that his national government has received from him all he owes it in the past and present merely by paying taxes, minding his own business, being orderly, clean, industrious, kind and neighbourly. True, Christ said "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," but it is a pertinent query whether Cæsar is entitled to compel a man to kill others or to attempt to "defend" the country (i.e. the government) by killing. Such a type of "defence" perhaps has not given and does not give the citizen such great advantages and benefits after all. Its expenses are an appalling burden.

For example, according to figures in the Statesmen's Year Book for 1926, during the year 1924 to 1925, sixty-seven per cent of the total national expenditure of Great Britain went to pay for armaments and past wars. The report of the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1927, shows that eighty-two per cent, of the taxes of that government were then going to pay the bills of past wars and of preparation for future wars. This enters into the cost of all manufactured articles and therefore affects every citizen. The Cambridge Associates of Boston estimate (1932) that the annual per capita cost of national

armaments is \$ 13 for Frenchmen, about \$ 12 for the British, and \$ 9 for Italians, and \$ 6 for citizens of the United States.

Sir Josiah Stamp has made careful estimates of the amounts of taxation for armaments and its direct and indirect effects.<sup>10</sup> After allowing for these he says,—“One could state, without much fear of serious error, that the standard of life throughout great industrial powers would be lifted by ten per cent by the cancellation of the expenditure on armaments. Such an increase would have a much greater influence upon the comforts of life and on the economic well-being of the people, than the mere figure itself might convey. At the stage at which we stand, *it is for the mass of the people of these nations the difference between grinding penury and a reasonable standard of comfort.*”

Professor Bogart has estimated<sup>11</sup> that the total direct and indirect costs of the World War amounted to \$ 337,946,179,657. Professor Baker of the University of London says that this sum is “the equivalent of twenty full years’ work of the brain workers, hand workers and mechanical equipment of the British Isles.”<sup>12</sup> Bogart says of these figures: “Yet even these do not take into account the effect of the war on life, human vitality, economic well-being, ethics, morality, or other phases of human relationships and activities which have been disorganised and injured.” Professor Baker states various other indirect burdens of armament which are very heavy, although impossible to estimate, such as the

organisation on uneconomic lines of transport systems of the world, for strategic and war purposes; elaborate frontier barriers and customs tariffs; the tremendously rapid wastage of resources of iron, coal and oil in time of war; exoduses of refugees; famines, disease, destruction of markets, demoralisation of international exchange, money inflation and deflation, unemployment, hatred, suspicion, bitter rivalries, general post-war tendency to civil lawlessness, violence, and moral callousness.<sup>13</sup> All these do not add to the security or blessings of the citizen.

Granted that there have been some great benefits from some activities of governments, yet there also are and have been very severe burdens from their wars. Not the pacifist, but war, is the parasite.

Governments of some sort may be necessary, but it is poverty of thought to insist that just because in the past they have always been violent, they must for ever remain so. The benefits of orderly living are enormous, but most people are orderly because of the long experience of the society in which they grew up, their habits, common sense and generally prevailing good will, not because of armies, legislators, police and courts. Law is highly overrated as a factor in people's orderliness. The judges and administrators admit this when they enunciate the well-known doctrine that ignorance of the law is no excuse for the criminal. Governments have had considerable effect in moulding people's habits, but not so much in relation to everyday orderly decent living as many suppose.

The user of non-violence is not so much of a parasite and slacker as some have imagined. He has been carrying the burdens of government, although he considers them wrong and unfair. He does not take shelter from peril, but he does not go forth to provoke it as the militarists do. He is ready to pay his share of the costs of the society in which he is placed, but he believes he has the right at all times to try to reduce that item of the cost of living which is due to war, whether that burden is financial or otherwise.

To all this, reply might be made that the soldier is bearing these burdens of high taxation, poverty and civil discord, and in addition he is bearing the heavy burden of military service with all that it implies of hardship, danger, disablement, sacrifice and death. But military service has a debit as well as a credit side. If you believe in it you look at the credit side. If you believe in something else, you look at the debit side. In this book we have tried to look at both debit and credit sides, and the balance seems to favour non-violent resistance. The non-violent resister, while admiring the devotion of the soldier, believes that the soldier is mistaken, and that a more careful and less conventional study of history, public finance, psychology and ethics would show that the soldier by his military service is really creating an extra burden for himself and others, not lightening burdens which otherwise would fall more heavily on others.

Suppose that the non-violent resister has just recently become such by reason of a discovery of

his former error. Does a man not have the right to repent his mistakes at any time? Otherwise how could there ever be individual or social progress? He believes that by fighting he would *not* be truly defending the fine things of his country, but only certain hardened institutionalisms which would be better for being shaken out in the open, fully exposed to hostile as well as friendly criticism, and then, if need be, re-shaped in the interest of a more harmonious and more widely prosperous world.

If he has a sensitive conscience he may feel that he had not earned in peace-time the right to be a non-violent resister in war-time. He had never before actively opposed war or the roots of war. Since he shares in the guilt of others, he feels that he must share in the consequences. Therefore, against his conscience, he feels he must join the army and fight. But let him not fret too much about not sharing the consequences. If he refuses to be drafted, his government will probably make him suffer and may kill him. In any event, he may be sure that he will have to work harder all his life to pay for the war, and will meet with countless troubles arising out of the hatreds and wrongs it engenders. The body of humanity is one, and we all suffer from its evils, no matter what our position. He will earn the right to be a non-violent resister in war-time by being it then and thereafter; and if he does so wisely and understandingly, he will find himself useful.

Some may fear that selfish men or rascals might see in non-violent resistance a clever and



powerful technique and proceed to use it for socially harmful purposes. But if such men did that, they would first have to prepare for it in the manner explained hereafter. That preparation, if thorough-going, would alter their characters and end their selfishness. If they made no preparation or prepared only half-heartedly, they would not attain enough fortitude and insight to enable them to endure the hardships of the struggle. Also, sooner or later during the struggle their selfishness would be clearly revealed and then they would lose the support of public opinion, and their attempt would fail.

It might seem to Western minds that only "educated" people could use non-violent resistance. That has not proved so in practice. The great majority of Indians who have used it under Gandhi's leadership, both in South Africa and India, have been illiterate peasantry. And in the West, industrial strikes, which have been predominantly non-violent, have been conducted mostly by people with no great amount of schooling.

In order to use non-violent resistance it is not necessary to have any book-learning. People do not require so-called "education" or even literacy for its use. It is a weapon for the humble and poor and ignorant as well as for others. In this connection we find an interesting passage in the biography of Lenin, who was like Gandhi in being a very great leader of hundreds of millions of poor, ignorant and humble people. A. Rhys Williams<sup>14</sup> writes thus of Lenin's estimate of the "ignorant" masses :

"Through the long years, in season and out of season, he insisted on their resoluteness, their tenacity, their capacity for sacrificing and suffering, their ability to grasp large political ideas, and the great creative and constructive forces latent within them . . . the heroism, and the economic, military and cultural potentialities of the proletarians."

The doubt in the minds of academically educated people that unlearned people could not easily understand non-violent resistance and discipline themselves to it, is really an evidence of how far a bookish education tends to lead its possessors away from the simpler and profounder verities.

Would non-violent resistance invite or encourage robbery and aggression? Mere non-violence or passive acceptance of evil would probably have that result, but there is a steady effective power in non-violent resistance when properly exercised which makes the aggressor, after one or two experiences, quite cautious. This is true despite the slaughters by Jenghiz Khan and others of that type. Whenever faced with prolonged disciplined non-violent mass resistance the governments and great conquerors have failed.

True non-violent resisters are not talkers or theorists. They are men of action, practical politicians, leaders of great causes, defenders of the oppressed, with both feet on the ground and heads in the air where they are meant to be, solid realists.

Some have accused them of maintaining an arrogant air of moral superiority, of thinking of themselves as visionaries and of soldiers as brutalised and degraded; or have said that non-violent resistance is a philosophy of correct deportment, a counsel of perfection, an attitude of inner rectitude, a proud chastity, a cold purity.<sup>15</sup>

If any non-violent resisters have assumed such an attitude they have been false to the truth and 'to the real meaning of their position and enterprise. They can never expect their method to succeed if they do not, in all humility and respect, accord complete freedom to others who believe differently from themselves. If they despise the sincerity and conscience of the soldier, or act as if he had none, they are thereby abandoning all hope of winning him over to their way of belief and action. They must truly respect as well as love their opponents' real selves, however mistaken they may believe them to be.

But no matter what mistakes some followers of non-violent resistance have made, the thing itself is no cold purity or attitude of righteousness, any more than any sincere belief or striving for an ideal.

In the West, pacifism has been accused of being barren both in accomplishment and technique. It may well be so when it is not true non-violent *resistance*, and the two get confused in Western minds. Non-violent resistance may seem barren in the West because there it seldom has been tried. It has seldom been tried because it has seldom been understood. It has not been

understood because it did not seem reasonable. But now that psychology has sufficiently developed to help us to understand intellectually the mechanism of the method, the impression of barrenness may fade away. Part of the impression is due merely to prejudice or habit of mind. For example, if a non-violent resister suffers death for his principles, the militarists call it futile; but if a man fights and dies in battle, they call it glorious, irrespective of whether the cause is won or lost.

While men are feeling their way toward a new understanding of themselves and of surer controls of the forces of Nature, there are of course many fumbling attempts and more or less complete failures. For many thousands of years men who tried to fly were scoffed at and derided for their folly. They were a smaller band than the non-violent resisters. Yet who now doubts man's ability to fly? If we can discipline our fear, as in war, we can learn to discipline our anger in non-violent resistance. Once understood, it does not seem so impractical.

In earlier chapters we have tried to show that non-violent resistance, despite the suggestion of its unfortunate English name, is not, in fact, negative in character. But the explanation of that fact may here be explicitly considered. To help in the explanation we shall for the moment call it by the more positive name which Gandhi gave it,—soul-force.

A movement that is relatively new in human history is somewhat sporadic and small in its

appearance. Every living growing thing has to select certain elements from its environment for its nourishment. All selection involves choice of what is useful to the end in view, and a rejection of what cannot be used or is no longer useful. If the growth is very new and strange to its environment, it will probably find relatively little that it can use, and much of its action is then a refusal. Yet the essence of its action is positive, although in quantity, most of it seems to be a negative rejection. The earth particles might complain of a plant that its life consisted largely of negative refusal to take what was there within reach. It is probably for some such reason as this that the movement of soul-force, so strange and new to the world, especially in the West, was given by the West a negative sounding name, passive resistance.

All physiological processes involve a constant catabolism and anabolism, rejection and assimilation. Rejection is all right provided that there is at the same time an acceptance of something else that is more fitting and useful. This dual process is only putting each element in its most fitting and useful place. What is waste and poison for me is useful to plants, which in return give me something more useful to my form of life.

This two-sided activity enters even into æsthetic creation.

"The creative process is a process of exclusion to the same extent that it is a process of inclusion. In this connection 'to exclude' means to relegate to irrelevance in the æsthetic unity, and 'to include' means to elicit relevance to that unity."<sup>16</sup>

This reasoning also applies to economic non-co-operation or boycott which sometimes is a feature of non-violent resistance. There the choice or preference expressed is an economic one, usually "in favour of indigenous products or of products made in a certain way. Hence all creation has its negative aspect, but that does not entitle us to call the creative process negative in essence. Non-violent resistance or soul-force is in essence positive and creative.

It may be said,—“all this sounds beautiful but it is based on nothing but an intangible idea, an assumption of a spiritual unity among mankind. I want progress, but I want something real like engines or electric lights.” The answer to such a demand is that those tangible things, too, grew out of nothing but intangible ideas, such assumptions for example, as the Copernican theory, the wave theory of light, the theories of such men as Faraday, Henry, Ohm, Ampere, Edison and Steinmetz in regard to electricity. As long as mankind insisted on persecuting and burning scientists for their theories,—men like Roger Bacon, Galileo and others,—it was very difficult to prove whether their theories were correct or not. So at present, those who believe in the theory of non-violent resistance are not being exactly encouraged. But they are going ahead. They are more fortunate than the early scientists, for they can use the very opposition to help prove the truth of the theory.

## CHAPTER XIII

### PREPARATION FOR NON-VIOLENCE

MANY of the peace movements dwell at great length on the evils of war and the consequent necessity for peace, but except for suggestions for perfecting the League of Nations, the World Court, disarmament and what is known as "international understanding" there seem to be relatively few ideas as to how to create and insure peace, or as to what are the particular requisites and purposes of peace. Furthermore, the proposals seem always something to be done by someone else than the reader,—they are something that "ought" to be done by governments, by statesmen, by educators, by great bankers, or the like. This produces a feeling in the average reader of frustration, irresponsibility, and irritation at the great leaders for not doing their work of saving humanity.

Herein lies one of the great merits of non-violent resistance. With it, every single individual of every race, nation, occupation, and all ages above infancy, can do something real and immediate and continuous for the cause of peace, without waiting for any other person or organisation to do something first. It suddenly becomes clear that the work of saving humanity does not rest with the great leaders but begins and continues with one of us. Courageous young people can, with non-violent resistance, find all the

romantic adventure they want. The range of influence of a few entirely sincere courageous acts or words is beyond knowing.

Early in this book we saw that violence begins as a state of the emotions and mind, and is supported and guided by inner conditions. Militarists realise this and cultivate martial sentiments in great detail with stories, poetry, songs, music, parades and drills, ceremony and display, patriotic holidays, speeches, history books, learned discussions, monuments, pictures, flags and other symbols. They make sure that such influences are brought to bear on children in their earliest years and are repeated frequently all through life. To use Pavlov's terminology, sentiments apparently 'condition' our emotions and acts. "When robustly developed, our sentiments are the absolute masters of our emotions and our conduct."<sup>1</sup>

Those who wish to develop and use non-violent resistance must, therefore, pay just as careful attention to the development of sentiments appropriate to non-violence as militarists do to the cultivation of martial sentiments. "A thought oft-repeated becomes an action; an action oft-repeated becomes a habit, and habit makes character, and character shapes destiny." As Gandhi said:<sup>2</sup> "To be a potent force, non-violence must begin with the mind." We must understand the ideas, sentiments and inner attitudes which are sure eventually to find expression in the sort of conduct we are here considering. Or as Shand puts it:<sup>3</sup>



"In all sentiments that continue to grow or even to maintain themselves, a second stage tends to occur in which we become conscious of their qualities, and reflect on them, and strive after them with effort, because we recognise that these qualities are in danger of not advancing with the growth and needs of the sentiment, or of even falling away. From this cause arise the ideals of a sentiment. It is clear that the sentiment requires for the pursuit of its ideals something steadier than its emotions; and this it naturally tends to develop."

Before groups can successfully use non-violent resistance, individuals must understand and become disciplined and practised in it. And before individuals can be successful in it they must prepare themselves. Those who believe in non-violent resistance only as a tactic, a policy, a weapon, as well as those who believe in it as a principle, must, in order to be successful, cultivate faithfully the sentiments appropriate to it. As Gandhi wrote, "Even policies require honest adherence in thought, word and deed. . . . But if non-violence is to remain the policy of the nation . . . we are bound to carry it out to the letter and in the spirit."<sup>3a</sup> If a non-violent resister has not thoroughly cultivated the requisite sentiments he will, by inevitable working of psychological law, fail in a prolonged intense struggle. The cultivation of such sentiments is necessary to prevent the outer forms of the method from being temporarily misused. The assiduous cultivation of such sentiments prior to war is the only way to escape the contagion of war-hysteria. The failure to understand and undergo such thorough preparation is perhaps one

of the reasons why pacifism has hitherto been so weak in the West.

The first step in preparation is understanding or faith. The next is careful cultivation of the right sentiments and thoughts until they become habitual. As an aid to that, we need to realise the implications of such sentiments and their relation to each other and to the aim desired. Hitherto there has been very little discussion, in books or elsewhere, of the cultivation, organisation and use of certain sentiments for the specific purpose of non-violent resistance, either individual or group. The emphasis of this purpose brings out certain inter-relations which often are overlooked in the usual discussions about sentiments. In both individual and group practice of non-violence, difficult questions often arise, and their settlement will often depend upon our understanding of certain sentiments and their implications and relations. I want this book to be practical. I propose therefore in this and the next chapter not only to mention the chief sentiments and inner attitudes we should cultivate, but also to discuss some of them and furthermore some that we should avoid, and why.<sup>4</sup>

The insight and experience of the great teachers and exemplars of non-violence has shown that love toward people, love of truth, courage, patience, tolerance, hope, humility, and faith in the ultimate possibilities of human nature, are sentiments,—attitudes of mind and heart,—which are important to develop. The meanings and implications of all these sentiments should be studied,

pondered and understood as fully as possible. The sentiments which I discuss here are either especially important or likely to be slighted.

Probably the most important sentiment for the purpose we are considering is love. We have already considered certain aspects of it, but we need to understand it still more fully.

To love is to feel the unity of all life and things, and to feel and realise it so strongly that all people near us, however vaguely, come to sense it too, and thereby come to have a stronger sense of unity and security. To love is also to desire to create new life and more abundant life by the realisation of this super-abundant power and unity. To live as if we were eternal would be to live in love. Love gives fearlessness, openness, freedom and truth. As every mother knows, love enables us to transcend time and space, to realise our essential eternity and infinity.<sup>5</sup>

"Love, recognising germs of loveliness in the hateful, gradually warms it into life, and makes it lovely," says a philosopher.<sup>5a</sup> The creative aspect of love is described thus:

. . . "The persistent refusal to criticise or to retaliate . . . must mean that the self which has defects or which does injury is seen to be other than the real self; and the non-resistance constitutes an appeal from the apparent self to the real self, or from the actual self to the self that may be. In this case, it is not injustice, but it is justice to the living and changeable. . . . Greek justice, distributive or retributive, took men statically, as they presented themselves. This type of justice refuses to take a man at his own estimate of himself; it insists on the self of a more nearly absolute estimate, the self that

*must* be, and which this resolve of the non-resisting will will help to bring into being. It is a justice done for the first time to the plasticity and responsiveness of human nature toward our own wills; it is an absolute, or creative, justice."<sup>5b</sup>

Still another aspect of the creativeness of love was described as follows:

... "The dynamic of love, of trust, and of an appeal to the sense of honour, though its action may be slow and uncertain at the outset, acts permanently, if it acts at all, by passing over into the heart and the character of its object. This principle . . . has seldom found finer expression than in the words of Spinoza :

" 'He who strives to conquer hatred with love fights his battle in joy and confidence; he withstands many as easily as one, and has very little need of fortune's aid. Those whom he vanquishes yield joyfully, not through failure, but through increase in their power.' "<sup>5</sup>

The creative power of love often acts as follows: When X has been indifferent to Y and then suddenly discovers that Y loves him, he (X) is at first ashamed, perhaps because Y was the more magnanimous and first to love. Further, X is ashamed to accept Y's love. These two phases may last a relatively long time. But when Y makes X feel that he is needed, and shows X how he can help Y, how he has abilities that can be useful, then X's stubbornness and pride melt fast and he begins to love Y and to help him. Very few people can bear merely to accept love. In order to be comfortable, they must be shown how they can return it.

One reason why non-violent resistance has seemed weak to so many people is that most

of its followers have failed to understand and apply fully and actively this creative factor in it. Thereby its creativeness lacked energy, and failed to impress people with its true character. Also it seems probable to me that psychologically, the creative energy of true soul-force or non-violent resistance is somehow connected with this realisation of a unity after a preceding strong awareness of a diversity. The creative effect of this process was carefully studied and strongly affirmed by the mathematicians Gratry and Boole.<sup>6</sup> They even used it as a definite psychological method to stimulate intellectual creation and imagination. C. F. Andrews suggests that the invigorating effect of a great realisation of unity may account in part for the original flaming energy of Islam.<sup>7</sup> It perhaps explains the great flowering of Buddhist civilisation. It may also account in part for the energy of the French Revolution, whose watch-words were Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, and for the subsequent sweep of the political ideal of democracy. Doubtless it accounts partly for the tremendous vigour of Communism in Russia.<sup>8</sup>

Because of this belief I will deal at some length in this chapter with the unifying aspect of non-violent resistance in the hope that its creative power may thereby be more fully understood, tested and harnessed into action.

Creation requires energy. Hitherto in the history of mankind anger and fear have been perhaps the chief means of stimulating physiological energy and action. Possibly the part that wrath and indignation play in the Muslim, Jewish,

Zoroastrian and churchly-Christian religions has been an element in their dynamic. But anger and fear are fearfully wasteful modes of generating human energy and it is time to apply a little engineering to society and the individual by adopting this more efficient method of creating power,—the realisation of our common human unity in every situation.

It is as if there were in the depths of human nature and the human race a tremendous energy always seeking expression. Hitherto, much of it has found its outlet in explosions of anger, individual or communal. But wrath is an intoxicant, thrilling and often satisfying one for a time with the exhilaration of being a channel of great power, yet leaving a great depression and reaction afterward. That energy can find better forms. The energy of unifying love does not proceed by ups and downs of action and reaction, but steadily increases and mounts up from strength to strength. Its resources are infinite. Non-violent resistance is the way by which we can implement this energy. It is like providing a steam engine or turbine by which the energy of steam can be put to productive use instead of blowing up the boiler and smashing things.

Love has tremendous creative energy and power. It has been said that every true virtue must be passionate, that is, must be brimming over with energy. The love in non-violent resistance has this positive, creative, exuberant passionate energy. Energy, as William Blake said, is divine. It is our business to provide the instru-

ments, methods and means whereby it may be harnessed to do the constructive creative task of building a nobler and more joyful world for mankind. It must pervade every detail and aspect of life.

This energetic element in love is realised more fully by examining love's opposite,—fear. Fear is not merely a consciousness of probably separation and dread of loss by separation from something we desire or are attached to. Fear also implies a weakness or inability or fancied inability to maintain security or unity. In that respect it is like a lack of energy. Love is abundance of energy, fear is a relative lack or failure of energy.

To use the language and analogy of relativity physics and hyper-dimensional geometry, we may think of energy as that which causes events, which brings together or keeps together certain world lines, or which causes us to think of them or perceive them as being together. Love, operating in the higher dimension, as it were, sees the connections between all things and events through that "higher" medium, and is thereby either content to maintain that kind of connection or security, or is actually able by its energy to create, that is to bring about a drawing together of world lines in four-dimensional space-time. So love either dispenses with the need of space-time juxtaposition or actually brings it to pass.

Connection with this essential unity is the root of individual human life and group and national life.<sup>9</sup> Anger and hatred are so thoroughly divisive that they tend to cut off our awareness of

this unity. This is perhaps the explanation of the verse in the Mahabharata<sup>10</sup> which says, . . . "He must not do any evil in return for an evil doer, but be always good and kind to him, for a wicked person willing to do any evil to anyone is killed by himself." That is, the wicked person by such actions kills himself by cutting himself off at the root. As the Indian scriptures have said, men may sometimes deny this unity and yet prosper in worldly affairs, gain what appears desirable, conquer enemies, but they *perish at the root*.

Many believe that we cannot love everybody, and that if we say that we love everybody we are deceiving ourselves. This may well be true if we cling to space-time conceptions and assumptions of the complete reality of diversities and separateness apparent to the senses and mind and feelings. But if we can think of and believe in an essential unity of mankind which transcends all space and time, then we can truly and sincerely love that essential aspect or part in everyone, however hampered and inadequate its expression may be. We could then overlook or brush aside as irrelevant the qualities which repel or annoy us,—dirt, disease, ugliness, unpleasant temper, other faults, differences of ideals or purposes or apparent absence of them, lack of intelligence, differences of taste, nationality, race, history, etc., etc. We could then realise and love an inner something allied to that which is within ourselves.

Christ's commandment to love thy neighbour as thyself is usually interpreted to mean *as much*



*as thyself.* A more illuminating way to take it is "Love thy neighbour as if he were thyself." This brings out the fundamental unity between thyself and thy neighbour.

Again, we can find it easier to love others if we can only see that all men are trying to attain unity, power, security, peace,—however mistaken their ways may be. For instance, the greedy man is really seeking security and unity, though on the wrong plane. The striver for material power is after a divine quality, though misapprehended by him. Even the cruel person is really looking for security and relief from fear, hate and revenge. All moral evils come from divisiveness, from a belief that the apparent separations of space-time are fundamental and wholly real. But behind all that illusion is the yearning and striving in every man to attain security and peace. We easily forgive a person for his ill-temper when we learn that at the time he was in pain, anxiety or ill-health. Perhaps we can learn to do the same for all sorts of faults and defects by realising that both we and our neighbours and our enemies and all mankind are in the disease of disunity and inner conflict growing out of our obsession with space-time divisions and pluralities.

Closely allied to love are sympathy, compassion and pity. In its true form, compassion for suffering is good because it helps both the sufferer and the compassionate one to realise the unity of mankind. It creates a sense of kinship. But it is dangerous if it is allowed to become warped. Pity may easily become only a means of exerci-

sing a sense of superiority or of sympathetic anxiety or fear. Both of these feelings or sentiments are divisive in character and harmful to both parties in the situation. It is such distorted compassion or pity, I believe, that called forth Nietzsche's scorn and contempt of pity.

To place too much stress on pity seems to me in effect to reproach the Creator for compelling us to dwell in this space-time continuum. It may lead to undervaluing the discipline and kind of growth which we get from living in this world. Pity and compassion should not be too much a groaning with the pain of mankind and sympathetic sweating with their difficulties in such a way as to fill them with self-pity and keep them from realising their higher nature or to emphasise to their minds the oppressiveness of space-time conditions. Pity and compassion should be a stimulus, not a soporific; an enlightenment and active help, not a comforting of their vanity or pride; an encouragement, not a dejected worry. Self-pity is of course a very debilitating disease, whether it is indulged in by an individual or a class.

I do not advocate hard-heartedness, but instead a wide outlook, a sharing of a vision of eternity and hope, a realisation of inner unity. The best help is to help others to help themselves, in reference to their inner attitude as well as in exterior matters. Compassion recognises the difficulties and hardships of living for every single creature. Though the difficulties are different in each case, no man is without them, no matter how prosperous or care-free he may appear. We all

have to meet suffering and we all need help in meeting it. Yet we must all try to meet it bravely and help others to meet it bravely. To avoid the slight fear-association and connotation of superiority in our words "pity" and "compassion" might not the Buddhist idea which we translate by those two words be better expressed by the words friendliness, gentleness and patience?

The Western mind repudiates the Eastern and mediæval European conception of there being a value in suffering, partly because suffering implies disharmony and imperfection against which the Westerner constantly struggles, and partly because voluntary suffering so often results in self-pity or self-righteousness. Yet voluntary suffering is always necessary to the accomplishment of any desirable change in an economic, political or personal situation.<sup>11</sup> If a condition is wrong and one tries to right it, but tries so feebly that he stops because of the suffering involved, the chances are that the original condition will remain. If one's desire to correct the condition is strong enough, the suffering is ignored, or appears as a price which one is willing to pay. It may have an incidental value in various ways;—as a test which clarifies one's mind and makes one face the question at issue;—as a means of compelling one to focus his efforts, and to discard what is irrelevant or less important than the objective;—as the most dramatic agent of the power of example to others. We are more likely to take a man and his beliefs and his efforts seriously if he shows himself willing to suffer for

them. Especially cogent and infectious is the enthusiasm and power of the man who wholly disregards or even delights in sufferings and obstacles on his road to the summit of his purposes.

But suffering is the incidental and secondary aspect of the matter and has no primary significance if one's object is to accomplish an improvement in conditions. In fact, to centre one's attention not on the objective but on the suffering seems dangerous. The objective is to be gained by carrying to other people's minds and hearts one's own vision of its truth and justice. To attempt to do so by arousing sympathy for one's suffering puts all concerned on the wrong track. The onlookers are led to behave as most warm-hearted people want to do when they see anybody suffer;—to relieve the immediate suffering regardless of the more fundamental reality of the situation. The rich man gives to the beggar, the doctor is ever-ready with opiates, the mother feeds the child whenever it cries. And the sufferer, thinking to accomplish something by means of his suffering instead of in spite of it, may develop a defeatist complex, and try to compensate, by self-pity and posing to himself as a martyr, for failure to attain his real and more difficult objective.<sup>12</sup>

To the extent that the Western attitude in this matter has compelled men to be objective, to avoid self-pity, to be brave, and to seek knowledge of how to prevent suffering of various sorts, it is excellent. Nevertheless, Eastern thought on this matter is not altogether astray.

Probably suffering is necessary for the firm establishment of a new system of moral values. If so, the firm endurance of suffering would be a sign of approaching success in such a creation. Perhaps that is why Jesus told his disciples to rejoice when they were persecuted for his sake, i.e. in the search for truth. The voluntary suffering of the non-violent resister proves in advance to the opponent that he is not being asked to suffer because of the resister's proposals any more than the resister himself. Thus, the fairness of the resister is proved in advance, and that does much to reconcile the opponent to considering and eventually granting the resister's contentions. Furthermore, since all great changes involve suffering, because of the abandonment of attachments, if the changes are to be made by persuasion instead of by violent coercion, the persuader must take upon himself as much as possible of the suffering involved. Voluntary suffering is a necessary element of all persuasion in questions involving strong attachments. It has value as an instrument.

Social, economic and political mistakes and wrongs make everyone suffer sooner or later. Guilty or innocent, near by or far off, we cannot possibly escape suffering for such errors. The results of the World War show this clearly. We may not always be aware of our suffering or see the connection between certain wrongs and our suffering, but nevertheless we all suffer, for humanity is one great organism. By acting in a way that involves suffering voluntarily and non-violently in opposition

to wrong we can right it, whereas if we try to avoid the suffering until it catches us, we can then do very little to end the wrong. Involuntary suffering after wrongs have been committed is almost wholly futile. Voluntary non-violent suffering undergone in advance of our turn does not mount up to so great a total as the involuntary suffering which comes in consequence of a wrong.

If we grant the greater importance of spiritual perspective over that of mere space and time, it would seem that perhaps, in the cases where it is taken in the right way, suffering may have value in so far as it drives men to seek life and strength from God within themselves rather than from external things. I do not mean by this for one moment to lessen our efforts to attain for everyone economic justice and comfort, fullest possible education, and all the other good exterior things of this life. Nevertheless, I know that our physical energy comes from within,—an inner synthesis of right food, good digestion, good air and a well-directed mind; that creative acts come from further within, from the mind and will and heart; that sound ultimate guidance and right attitude comes from still further within, from the spirit.

Death, sorrow and some sort of suffering are experienced by all mankind, rich and poor, wise and simple, great and lowly, regardless of all the achievements of science or philosophy. Is it a mistake then to try to wring some good value out of this common experience? If suffering is a necessary part of all creation, to want to avoid

suffering is to want to avoid creation. In so far as the suffering is voluntarily undergone, as in non-violent resistance, it would seem capable of being useful to the sufferer, in the direction already indicated, as well as in ways explained in previous chapters. Gandhi constantly insists upon the necessity of voluntary suffering. The earlier chapters show its effects. Because suffering is a common element in all human life, the meeting and enduring of suffering, after the first shock, gives the sufferer an awareness of his or her unity with all humanity. That is probably the reason why the poor, who suffer most, have, on the whole, a clearer sense of our common humanity than do the comfortable and wealthy. Yet remember that voluntary suffering is not to be a form of self-pity nor a ground for self-righteousness. It is a courageous stimulus to the sense of unity with others. Also it is a great discipline.<sup>13</sup>

Humility is a sentiment which, in the West at least, is usually misunderstood, despised and derided. It is confused with weakness, cowardice and lack of self-respect. It is considered a servile soporifice, a preventer of progress, a dull and torpid resignation to things as they are. Its association with non-violent resistance has helped to bring the latter into disfavour.

But as we have tried to indicate, humility is really a true sense of spiritual values and proportions. For this reason it is a very important factor in the equipment of a non-violent resister. Such a person is trying to change age-old habits of mind, emotion and conduct, and he

must have a very clear vision of relative values and ultimate verities. Because of the importance of this quality of humility, it will be wise to examine it somewhat fully.

Humility is not mere lowliness, but a consciousness that distinctions of size, rank and other temporal and spatial qualities are relatively unimportant, irrelevant and often misleading, because of their transcendence by things of the spirit. Humility is a sort of spiritual equalitarianism. It is a prerequisite to an understanding of things of the spirit, as a sense of spatial proportion is necessary for an understanding of architecture. Humility involves non-assertion, but physical violence and anger involve aggression and assertion. Therefore non-violent resistance requires humility. If, as two noted psychologists state,<sup>13a</sup> the self-regarding sentiment is the foundation of all the higher morality, humility, as qualifying that sentiment, profoundly affects all the higher morality. This would be equally true of pride, the opposite of humility. Personal humility must become a common and strongly valued trait in order to create and maintain a society in which there is a strong and thorough sense of human unity yet no standardization of all individuals into a uniform mass. Inasmuch as competition is so important a factor in capitalism, the cultivation and extension of humility will do much to curb capitalism. Thorough-going humility is powerful.

The words "obscure," "lowly," "humble" and "meek" are usually spoken in a derogatory or patronising sense. But they should not be, for



when we reflect we realise that the most wonderful of God's own ways are obscure, hidden, secret, unnoticed, quiet, unseen. To be obscure does not necessarily result in being Godlike; but it is at least a surer beginning than to be noisy or notorious. To be famous is to be in a dangerous spiritual position.

In the realm of the spirit, magnitude, quantity, size, rank and degree are less important than quality. Small acts of the right quality are as important as big ones. Humble obscure lives lived rightly are as important to God, it would seem, as the great and famous ones.

Humility is a truly scientific spirit, willing to sit down before any fact, however small, and learn from it. "It implies a constant sense of the possible reversal of all human judgment." It gauges its values not by reference to other men, but by reference to God. By reference to God its abnegation and depreciation is seen to be only a true sense of relative values. It is not an inferiority complex in relation to other men. Rather it inclines toward equalitarianism in relation to man. Humility is a sort of caution to protect us against errors and divisions arising out of our obsession with space and time. It is an awareness of our difficulties and our liability to false reasoning or false assumptions or lack of knowledge and insight.

Yet humility should perhaps not be too closely associated (negatively) with ideas of size and rank. At the beginning it must be so, but the final truth of it seems to be more than that.

Usually we speak of a great man "rising above" all distinction of rank or caste, whereas the very humble man might be said to "go so low" as to escape or get outside of all ideas of rank and dimension in a different direction. It is a mode of escaping from concepts of separateness involved in pride, a method of reaching unity, of seeking God. It is a kind of spiritual receptiveness. Humility and faith together make a man live experimentally. If a given experiment turns out to be a mistake, non-violence makes each man pay for his own mistakes, and relieves all others of the burden, so far as possible. Yet despite the importance of humility, it is not a quality that can be directly cultivated, for it is a by-product of a right relation to other men and to God. To attempt to cultivate humility directly is, as Gandhi has said, "tantamount to cultivating hypocrisy." Probably the only way it can be attained is to devote oneself utterly to the service of humanity. "A seeker after truth cannot afford to be an egoist. One who would sacrifice his life for others has hardly time to reserve for himself a place in the sun."

An illustration of the real positiveness involved in an apparently humble action is given in the saying of a medieval Indian saint, Nanak, to a disciple. He said, "Farid, if a man insult thee, stoop and touch his feet. Thus enterest thou the temple of the Lord." Touching the feet is an Indian form of salutation to a revered person. An insult would be an attempted violation or rupture of the spiritual unity between men. If the

insulted person immediately were to answer with a reverent salute he would be asserting strongly his belief in the continued existence of that spiritual unity. His act would be a symbol of his intention to deny or close up the separation attempted by the insulter. It would be an assertion of unity in the face of difficulty. It would thereby be a returning of good for evil.<sup>14</sup> It is a more beautiful and more creative manner of expressing the truth contained in Marshal Foch's saying that "a battle won is a battle in which one will not confess oneself beaten." Indeed, Nanak's gesture goes further. It recognises and asserts the existence of the spirit of God in every man, even in a hostile person, and makes obeisance to that spirit and to the man as its dwelling place or temple.

But if this sort of action is desirable, is it not equivalent to letting any and every insolent ruffian walk right over you? Where is the resistance in such an act? Is it not inconsistent even with non-violent resistance? No. It is not mere acceptance, merely lying down. It is resistance, a contradiction, to the attempt of the insulter to create a breach. Non-violent resistance on every occasion proceeds upon the basis that truth, spirit—God, if you will—dwells within every man, that every person is a child of Truth or God. It is an attempt to appeal to that truth, that spirit, that better nature, no matter how crusted over with mistaken ideas and habits. It assumes a sort of spiritual democracy of mankind. It will not permit that spiritual bond of unity to be denied or set aside, or broken.

The non-violent resister returns good for evil not because he is a weakling, but because he believes that the unity of mankind is the most important thing in the world and that such an action is the most efficient means of maintaining what he believes in. His humility is important as a means of apprehending ultimate truths, but he will not allow it to be used as an excuse for trampling on him or on defenceless people, for such trampling or exploitation would be an attempted denial of the underlying spiritual equality and unity of mankind, a denial that all men have the dignity of sons of God. So true humility is also true self-respect.

When I say spiritual equality I do not mean that all men are equal in body, mind, ability and estate or necessarily ever can be. But bodies, mental, æsthetic and other skills and abilities are only instruments or tools with which we work in this space-time world. The mere fact that one carpenter has a fine set of tools while another has a poor set of tools does not prove that the first is a better carpenter or a better man. Indeed he may be worse in both respects, or equal to the other. So the inner spiritual value of a person cannot be proved or estimated by any of our tests for quality of mind or ability. We must respect the true inner worth of all people and treat them all equally or somehow symbolise toward them our recognition that they are children of God.

The non-violent resister believes that every man, no matter how low, poor, mean, hard or unpromising, is, because of that divine essence,

capable of marvellous growth and improvement. This belief is probably the reason why all groups which have practised it for any considerable period have become strong, awakened, full of hope, moral drive, splendid community spirit, and capable of superb generousities and gallant kindness, industrious, steady and fine.

The non-violent resister tries to act as if there were spiritual kinship or unity between himself and his opponent and everyone. Action upon that basis seems to enable him not only to discover various previously unrealised unities and possibilities of joint action, but even to create them.

We can see now why the men of Dante's time considered pride as so deadly a sin (mistake). Pride emphasises and exalts division, rank and separateness, and attempts to end the unity of men and of the world. All sins (moral mistakes) are mistakes of imputing a separation or loss where in truth there is none of importance. But pride not only creates a division but exults and glories in it, makes an evil doubly so. Pride about one's spiritual realisations is a denial of the spirit, the unity itself. Especially dangerous is pride because of being humble, and pride because one is a sufferer.

Pride leads to fear because it over-values something, and divides and emphasises *I* and *mine* apart from *you* and *yours*. Then out of this separateness comes the possibility of loss. But spiritually the pride has already separated that thing (lost it) from the great underlying unity,

from the proud person's real ultimate self. So pride is a great deception caused by over-emphasising the data of space and time. For pride to fear loss is a sort of joke,—a locking the stable door after the horse is stolen. So also with most forms of respectability. They are a form of pride, a cage.<sup>15</sup> All ideas of rank and separateness are pathetic spiritual jokes, as it were. Whatever we try to separate from unity, to take away from God, to appropriate our separate self (including the soul itself) we lose, because each of us is in reality and essence a manifestation of the all-inclusive Self, a son of God. And as Hocking says, "selfishness predisposes to fear."<sup>16</sup>

Since so much selfishness and hence fear, anger and conflict come out of our customs and concepts of property, it will be wise for the non-violent resister to develop, in relation to property, an attitude of detachment which will be consistent with the sentiments of love and human unity.

In the second quotation from Shand near the beginning of this chapter there was a reference to the ideals of a sentiment. When the ideals of a number of sentiments are organised into a living whole, we have a system of values. Systems of values, as we have seen, are the real governors and controllers of nations.<sup>17</sup> The whole idea of non-violent resistance with all its implications is an important part of a new and powerful system of values which, if accepted, will create a much finer and happier world. This is another reason why we should clearly understand the sentiments which are the basis of non-violent resistance.

All these desirable sentiments must be translated into action every day and hour in order to stimulate and exercise them and thus make them strong. Intellectual and emotional understanding are not enough. Really profound understanding, conviction and mastery come only out of exercise, action and experience.<sup>18</sup>

## CHAPTER XIV

### FURTHER UNDERSTANDING

NOT only do we need to cultivate certain sentiments; there are others which we must avoid because of their tendency to create violence. Hatred is an example, bitterness, jealousy and greed are others. The bad effect of most of such sentiments is so clear that we do not need to discuss them here. But there is one sentiment or emotion about which there is some doubt,—namely the attitude that is known as “moral indignation” or “righteous indignation.”

Many kindly people reserve a place for righteous indignation in their scheme of ethics. They consider it a sign of strength. But the mere fact that we have all felt it does not make it desirable or wise. It is a form of anger even though it is usually felt on behalf of other people weaker than ourselves, or because of some injustice, cruelty or meanness. One cannot deny that it arouses and directs energy, and in that sense it is strong, but the same is true also of all forms of anger. Buddha, Christ and many Chinese and Hindu saints and sages have spoken of anger as a mistake. Righteous indignation is better than indifference or complete emotional submission out of cowardice, just as courageous violence against evil is better than craven subservience. But in view of what we now know, it is a harmful attitude.



We have seen that anger is the form of emotion of a person who is threatened by a hostile force where he feels that he is probably stronger than that force, that is to say, when he has a sense of relative security. Righteous indignation differs from anger in one respect because, since it is felt by a third party not in the actual conflict, or by a person directly involved but some time before the conflict becomes physically violent, the degree of security of the person feeling it is greater than if he were engaged in the combat. It is considerably safer to be outside making derogatory comments than it is to be in the thick of the fight receiving the actual blows. If the righteously indignant person arouses enough anger of the blame-worthy combatant to be violently attacked along with the weaker party, the righteous indignation swiftly turns into ordinary anger and fear. Often such indignation is cheap and easy means of avoiding responsibility, of switching energy from difficult, prolonged constructive action into brief and ineffective protest. It is exciting without causing inconvenience.

We have seen that an end, which in the beginning of our course seems good, does not justify us in using a bad means to reach it.<sup>1</sup> If then we are agreed that anger is a harmful emotion, we should not try to justify its use by pointing to the good end of the removal of injustice or brutality or meanness toward other weak people. Is not that really what people are doing, when they seek to justify their anger by calling it "righteous indignation"? It is rather an ineffi-

ciency, a confusion of not seeing how, for the moment, to overcome the evil, and resorting to the energy of violence instead of to the energy of creativeness.<sup>1a</sup> It is a sign not of strength but of weakness.

Again, may not one reason for the kind man's "righteous indignation" be the fact that often he has no available instrument or method of changing the mind and heart of the wrong-doer? If he really were skilled in and accustomed to an effective "manipulative activity,"<sup>2</sup> such as non-violent resistance, would he not be more apt to utilise it instantly without wasting any time or energy over the person who is making the mistake? That is what we do in all the other difficult situations in life for which efficient tools have been invented. It seems probable that the acceptance of a clear-cut plan of action such as non-violent resistance would give distinct physiological relief.

Indignation often tends to be associated with an assumption of moral superiority on the part of the indignant person. Thus the righteousness of such anger would seem to be somewhat self-righteous and puritanical. It is interesting to note in this connection that truly humble people seldom show indignation. This squares with much of the teaching of the Bhagavad Gita and of Lao Tsu.

Perhaps the reason why many people continue to insist that righteous indignation is a desirable emotion is that they feel the necessity for action in opposition to evil and injustice, and do not know of any swift energiser except anger. By all means

let us have action,—constructive, swift and powerful. But let us not linger around the evil, lashing it with harsh adjectives, wasting time and energy at the same psychological level as the evil which we desire to remove. Concentrate all energy on the immediate beginnings of the new order we want.

If indignation is a virtue, it is not aristocratic or for individuals only. It may be felt by crowds as well as by the cultivated few. But the response of a crowd to the feeling of indignation furnishes a final test of the soundness of that emotion. The common people, the crowd, are psychologically healthy in that their actions are in close correspondence with the character of their feelings and also follow promptly the onset of those feelings. So if the crowd feels indignation, it will soon become violent, for indignation is a species of anger. This consideration reveals the wisdom of peaceful creative resistance. It is the only way by which the crowd, the mass of mankind as well as individuals, in conflict can attain to finer relationships. Our increase of psychological knowledge and human experience has lessened the value of righteous indignation in modern society. I believe that it is time for us to try to work away from it to more effective means of stimulus and guidance.<sup>3</sup>

“But,” it will be said, “we *must* take sides between right and wrong. We must condemn evil. We cannot remain tepid and neutral in the face of injustice. Would you have no adverse criticism?”

If it is not men but systems of values that ultimately govern the world, then it is possible to condemn the bad systems of values without condemning personally the men who operate them.

It is true that we cannot live without discriminating between good and evil. But in so doing it is better to use the desire for good as our energiser, rather than our hatred of evil. Pay as little attention as possible to mistakes and evil, and concentrate all our time and energy on the right, thus crowding the evil out with good. Unless the non-violent resister is constantly creating and constructing sound and fine conditions in his own camp he can accomplish little with his resistance to evil elsewhere. His criticism, if he must use it, will have to be constructive, and as his greatest freedom is within himself, he can be most constructive at home. Therefore, his criticism should be of himself and his own side. It should be a process of what Gandhi calls purification. The term sounds strange in the West, but Gandhi is right.

The way to master your opponent is to out-shine him, as Nietzsche said; or to put it another way, the best method of controlling a situation is to have a superiority of power (organised energy) at one's disposal. That superiority of power is, in the last analysis, personal. A great character is the result of much self-discipline and self-training and energy. Criticism, like charity, begins at home.

William Blake's belief in respect to judging men was interesting.

"He is insistent that neither sin nor righteousness should be imputed to persons . . . but to *states*. To change man it is therefore necessary to change *states*. It avails nothing to blame men for what they are or do; the only reasonable attitude to men whose characters and actions are the consequences of *states* is one of forgiveness. But while we forgive, it is our business to destroy the state in which human nature is perverted and to create the new state in which man will receive 'a new selfhood continually.' "4

The Bhagavad Gita also enjoins us to refrain from condemnation.

Judging or discriminating in regard to conditions, values and principles is different from judging people. Judging institutions is judging a method or habit of action. As regards people, "judge not that ye be not judged" may mean, do not separate yourself from others because if you do they will separate themselves from you. Since we are all more or less blindly struggling toward unity and security, do not judge, because that interferes with this progress. If you are considerate toward other people, that tends to make them kind toward everyone; but if you are unkind toward them then that tends to make them unkind toward everyone.

According to modern psycho-analysis, it appears that an expression of vigorous scorn, contempt or disgust toward another person means really that some time in the past I had myself a failing similar to that toward which I now feel this repulsion, or even that in my secret heart or subconsciousness I now have a similar weakness.

My strong feeling of repulsion is an inner attempt to separate myself from that quality, to keep myself from committing that person's mistake or fault. The inner conflict, like an outer one, tends to create inner fear or anger, and hence an inner wastage of energy. If I were not inwardly afraid of that failing I would be quite serene, dispassionate and detached in my attitude. Some "righteous indignation" may be due to a conflict of motives within ourselves.

If this be so, when we express a harsh adverse criticism of another we have really criticised our inward selves. "Judge not, that ye be not judged." Under the circumstances, will it not be wise to both direct and confine our adverse personal criticism to ourselves? When expressed toward another it interferes with both his and my apprehension of the fundamental unity. Time taken for a more complete intellectual and moral understanding of the person or situation which has aroused my hostile feeling, and of my relation to him or it, may clarify my system of values and thus rid me of my unconscious confusion and attachment. I can be sure that I have enough faults to keep me exceedingly busy looking after my own improvement. I might possibly be able to help influence him by example, but condemnation is no good.

The importance of constantly realising the inner unity of all living creatures, especially mankind, is perhaps one reason for Christ's injunction to "judge not." Positive discrimination in order to select and use something wise and

needed for our growth is a form of preference, and it need not dwell upon what is rejected. That is very different from the sort of judging which stresses the condemnatory part of the matter. Choice and selection and discrimination may be exercised without condemnation. What is poisonous or not useful to me may be useful to some other form of life or some other process of Nature. I may include this thing in a larger acceptance of the universe even though I do not need it myself at this time. I can set it aside without disgust, fear or condemnation. God can accept and use all things, but I am more limited. I can accept certain things for my use, and set aside and endure the remainder. That seems to be one important meaning in Christ's parable of the wheat and tares. Nowadays, tares might be found to make very good paper pulp, even though no good as food.

Acts, institutions, conditions and systems which are mistaken, harmful or wrong must be described accurately and truly; and some nouns and adjectives are not pleasant. To say such things may be difficult, but the manner of doing it need bear no personal ill-will whatsoever. To say harsh things of persons as persons is very rarely a useful or effective thing to do.

Of course, sometimes it seems necessary to place a clear, powerful picture or statement of reality and the future directly in front of very stubborn, proud or hypocritical minds, in order to arouse them to the importance of a change and the full meaning of their mistake. But should that

be done so as to arouse personal fear or anger? Those are divisive emotions, and can divisive means ever lead to unity? Perhaps certain minds can win through to a vision of unity only by the method of trial and error, after having exhausted every other possible method. We can think of Christ suffering such a state of affairs, but to me, the idea of his angering the Pharisees by condemning them personally very harshly, and himself being angry with them, seems inconsistent with his depth of insight. He said that there is joy in heaven over one sinner who repents; but need we imply further that there is anger or indignation in heaven over a sinner who for any reason fails to repent?

A Hindu, believing in rebirth, would feel that there is no necessity for getting so indignant over any sin or sinner. The sinner will have a chance to learn better in some subsequent birth. Each soul advances as fast as it is capable. And since the Christians profess also to believe in eternal life, why need they get so enraged toward people who are unjust, cruel or hypocritical?

This does not mean that we should be indolent about such matters. Be as swift and energetic as possible to create and build up right conditions and finer systems of values, but why be so inefficient with time and energy as to call anyone harsh names in a harsh way? Isn't that one meaning of the parable of the wheat and tares? Don't spend time trying to uproot evil. Rather concentrate all energy on helping the good forces to become so strong as to crowd out evil.<sup>5</sup>



It is true that destruction must often precede construction, but perhaps we are merely confusing our time-scales when we think that destruction must be sudden, catastrophic and violent, and that construction must always be slow. In a great assemblage of life such as a forest the natural destruction of decay is no less effective for being slow. It is a replacement of one kind of life by another.

In view of these considerations we shall be wise to acquire a large enough view of life to make it possible to do without irritation, impatience, indignation, disgust, disdain, contempt, reproaches, long-enduring regrets or shames. They are all akin to anger or fear. Love of good and beauty is strong and positive, but hatred of wrong is negative and therefore weaker. We must steadily face and move toward the future and the better. There are always fresh and interesting opportunities and possibilities up to the last moment here on earth, if we will only open our minds and eyes to them.

I do not mean that it would be wise to suppress these divisive emotions, if in fact they exist within us. That would be a form of psychological violence. One should try to acquire such a vision of or attitude toward oneself and other people and the meaning of life and its situations as to canalise all our energy into creating positive good and to have that energy so great as to disregard the evils and obstacles, just as our eager enthusiasm to reach the top of the mountain and see the glorious view makes us largely disregard the toil and heat and

obstacles of the climb. Such a widely integrated attitude will lift the conflict to a higher level where a more inclusive synthesis can be made. This synthesis will use the energy of all elements in the conflict, and hence not result in any repression.<sup>6</sup> Then the divisive emotions will not arise at all, or if they do arise their energy will promptly be sublimated and led off into creative channels. Such an accomplishment is not simple or easy, but neither is any other worth-while ideal easy.

A very important part of the preparation for non-violence is constant striving for truth. In a conversation I had with Gandhi in March, 1930, I asked him why in all his discussions of *Satyagraha*, he placed so much more emphasis on truth than on love. (Perhaps it should be explained that the Indian word *Sat* or *Satya* means not only truth in the English sense of the word, but also essential being.) He replied that truth (*Sat*) exists beyond and unconditioned by space and time, but that love exists only on the part of finite beings. Therefore truth (*Sat*) is a greater principle even than love, and therefore he emphasises the search for truth more than the importance of love. He would if necessary sacrifice love for truth, but not the reverse. Yet, he said, love is the most important means for us finite beings to attain truth. Love only toward human beings is too small, he said. One must love every creature, all creation.<sup>7</sup> *Ahimsa*, constant loving gentleness, is a fundamental law of being, because growth results only from prolonged repetition of appropriate slight stimuli. Therefore *Ahimsa* is necessary in the

search for truth, *Satyagraha*. He considers Truth and God as synonymous terms. In this view, spirit would also be synonymous with truth. Those who consider God and spirit as unreal terms would probably be willing to accept the foregoing passages where I have used the words "spirit" or "spiritual" if the word "truth" were substituted for the word "spirit."

It is interesting to find a modern Western psychologist, E. B. Holt, agreeing closely with Gandhi, as in the following passage :

"We have seen throughout that truth is the sole moral sanction, and that the discrimination of hitherto unrealised facts is the one way out of every moral dilemma. This is precisely to say that virtue is wisdom."<sup>8</sup>

Since truth and sincerity are such important matters, and since the sentiments and attitudes which we have discussed are a preparation for action, we need to consider the correct relation between thought and conduct, inner attitude and outer action.

As non-violent resistance is primarily an inner attitude, we cannot lay down any but provisional rules of external conduct. But such rules will hold for the most part.

Acts, if of a certain kind and done with the right desire, spirit and method, do tend to strengthen corresponding qualities or attitudes of heart or spiritual relationships, already existing at least in germinal conditions within or to stimulate latent faculties. This is one reason for certain general rules of conduct or for religious ceremonial. But conduct is also an expression or indication of

certain inner states. Presumably this is the meaning of "by their fruits ye shall know them." Action is one test of inner quality.

Action is a completion of thought and will, and unless the action is carried out, the idea and purpose are never fully understood by the outsiders or even by the thinker. Thought is in part a preliminary muscle-setting or minute play of tentative muscle-settings and nervous co-ordinations preparatory to action. The action clarifies and strengthens and defines the thought and brings out its implications. Action is necessary for wholeness of character. Action is the ripening of thought and feeling and sentiment. We think with our bodies as well as with our minds. Conduct and thought and feeling cannot be sharply distinguished in life without harm befalling.<sup>9</sup>

The importance and even necessity of inculcating and developing appropriate sentiments in order to maintain and guide non-violent resistance to a successful conclusion will, I think, now be clear to everyone who has read thus far. But certain people will perhaps see the matter more quickly than others and probably realise its implications more fully and far-reachingly, and perhaps use it more effectively. These people are those who, besides being intelligent, also believe in the existence of God and the spirit or human soul.<sup>10</sup> This assertion is based on the fact that apparently the greatest teachers and exemplars of non-violent resistance,—Parsva, Buddha, Mahavir, Lao Tsu, Jesus Christ, Paul of Tarsus, Peter Waldo,

Wycliffe, Francis of Assisi, Huss, Menno Simons, George Fox, William Penn, Thoreau, Tolstoi, Gandhi,—all have been profoundly religious or at least believers in a reality transcending space and time, not perceived by the ordinary bodily senses. Those who believe in God perhaps understand more readily the meanings of non-violent resistance because they believe in a supreme power and presence, a central truth and unitive principle; and this factor of immanent powerful truth and unity is the basis of non-violent resistance.

Gandhi would say that at least the chief leaders of a non-violent movement must be religiously minded people.<sup>11</sup> He does not, however, consider religion the same as church-going or other institutional ritualism. Our previous discussion perhaps makes clear that a deep faith and understanding of ultimate truth would be very useful and perhaps necessary to solve successfully the many complex, delicate and difficult situations which would inevitably face a leader of a movement of non-violent resistance. Probably such faith and understanding can come only from religion.<sup>12</sup> Yet it is likely that a good Chinese Confucianist or an apparently irreligious man who nevertheless had utter devotion and passion for truth and for the welfare of the common people, would make an excellent leader of non-violent resisters if he once came to understand and believe in the method. If truth and God are synonymous, this is quite understandable. On this matter of religion the agnostic or atheist would probably be wise not to be dogmatic and deny the existence of

certain human forces just because others who realise them and have used them call them by names which are outside his range of belief,—such names, for instance, as “intuitive” or “spiritual.” Such denial would be as mistaken as for a scientist of seventy-five years ago to have denied the existence of radio waves or X-rays or the possibility of flying. Someone who is a keener observer than he may come along and alter the habits of millions of people while he is busy being dogmatic. On the other hand, religious people must not be dogmatic either, or try to exclude from participation or leadership any person who is not religious according to their definition of the term. Deeds and understanding are more important than any particular fashion or style of names.

In regard to these sentiments and the ideals of the sentiments mentioned by Shand, the religious man would be inclined to say: “Since we must have emotions, let us simplify and integrate and guide them by choosing as their dominating object and stimulus God within us.”

If the occurrences of life in this world are significant only as material for spiritual experience, then death cannot be the tragedy and loss it is usually considered. It is not a thing to be feared. Even killing is not of fundamental importance, as Krishna tells Arjun in the Bhagavad Gita. The important thing is the effect of such an act upon the killer, upon the slain and upon others. In all cases the harm of violence lies chiefly in the fact that, by reason of the anger

and fear and other emotions that it arouses, it prevents the realisation of essential unity by most, if not all, of the parties concerned. If the aim of life is to attain what the Hindus call "self-realisation," to realise God, to apprehend in thought, feeling and action the spiritual unity of all the universe, then violence is a very great obstacle to such realisation and apprehension. This would help explain Christ's emphasis on the evil of anger and hatred and similar inner attitudes, for mere anger alone obstructs the feeling of unity.

It is possible that in certain types of mania or frenzy the inner division is already so complete that some physical force used to prevent a crime by such a maniac would not create in him any further separation from essential unity than already exists. In such a case if physical restraining force can be applied without anger, but in kindness, then it would seem to be all right. We cannot be absolutists. Yet even here, we must be very careful not to deceive ourselves.

Maybe there is [no such thing as a purely defensive physical struggle between two sane human beings. Are we not all responsible to some degree for the degradation, poverty, and hard conditions of all people, and for their prejudice, greed, narrowness, selfishness, lack of control, bitterness and other attitudes of mind and heart? Do we not support or acquiesce in institutions, customs, values and ideas which injure others? And even within the narrow limits of a struggle between two people, the psychological interplay of feelings, attitudes and ideas,—conscious and sub-

conscious,—is so swift, subtle, and complex, and the inner attitude of most people to-day is so inclined to be dominating, angry or fearful, that no one can be utterly sure that the other man was wholly the aggressor and wholly wrong.

Aggression really arises the instant we assert our separateness from others in respect to things of the spirit. Therefore, unless there is an initial assumption of essential unity, and action corresponding to it, there can be no such thing as a purely defensive struggle. Or to say it in another way, the only defence which is not also aggression is the assertion of the spiritual unity of all men, by action as well as by thought and feeling and word.

During his thinking and experimenting the non-violent resister will sooner or later need to define the meaning of the word violence. While I cannot frame a sure and conclusive definition of the term, I offer the following as a tentative working formula for discussion: Violence is any act, motive, thought, active feeling, or outwardly directed attitude which is divisive in nature or result in respect to emotions or inner attitude; that is to say, inconsistent with spiritual unity. This would include intellectual and moral violence as well as physical. It would include, for example, pride, scorn, contempt, anger, impatience, grumbling, spite, indignation, as well as killing, wounding, frightening, exploiting, deceiving, poisoning, tempting to evil, flattering, deliberate weakening of character and similar wrong.<sup>13</sup>



In view of these considerations, especially the necessity for truth and consistency between inner attitude and outer conduct, we may say not that non-violent resistance is always the right conduct but that it is always the possible and right conduct provided that the requisite courage, love, discipline, understanding and faith are present. Be sincere and true to yourself in any event, even though the action seems regrettable to others. You will not help the world by violence, but truth to your inner self is more important because it is prerequisite to any moral advance whatever. If you want to be true in the great principles and relationships you must first be true in the small ones within yourself. While we must labour to make our inner attitude right, we must always be true to the light as we see it.

Some might take this to mean that all people ought to continue to use violence and go to war because the majority of men still believe in violence. Not at all. The mere fact that a few hundred years ago all soldiers relied upon swords and spears was no reason for not teaching them how to use guns. Since non-violent resistance is a better weapon, let us try to learn how to use it and help others to do the same.

If we assume the reality of the spirit, we understand why Gandhi has called non-violent resistance *Satyagraha*, which means literally "grasping or holding fast to the truth." Things of the spirit are a deeper truth or reality than things of space and time. Violence is a spatio-temporal affair, for it proceeds on the assumption that death, time,

and separation are the greatest realities and forces. But mathematicians now know that the idea of distance (separation) is not a fundamental one. Non-violence goes on the assumption of the profounder reality or truth of ideals, of the spirit, of the spiritual unity of mankind, of eternity and eternal life. The non-violent resister seeks for and clings to the greatest truth he can find. His methods of non-violence he believes are in accordance with the eternal or spiritual. The fundamental unity of mankind is the greatest moral truth, and non-violent resistance holds to this truth, whereas violence denies it. Hence violence is a form of untruth, and falsehood and fraud may be considered forms of moral violence.

In every conflict both sides, because of human fallibility, are partly wrong, and both are partly right. Hence a complete victory for either side by compulsion cannot bring about a truthful and therefore satisfactory issue. Both sides should seek the truth through non-violence.

Religious sages tell us that there are ways and disciplines for realising God in oneself. If this is so, there would seem to be ways of evolving or realising God in others. Non-violence is one of these ways.

## CHAPTER XV

### SELF-DISCIPLINE

THE individual prepares himself for non-violent resistance on important issues not only by cultivating appropriate sentiments but also by daily discipline and control of his thoughts, words and small acts. We all form habits of some sort anyhow. Therefore, why not form them consciously and deliberately in accordance with our highest ideals and the most complete and permanent security? By undergoing this training each person is serving his country far more effectively than by enlisting in the army or navy. We have said that the evils of our community and national and international life are but the external result and reflection of our inner psychological and spiritual defects. The real evil and enemy is within each one of us. In that inner field of battle we may have unnumbered defeats, but nevertheless there we have more freedom to create and act than anywhere in the outside world. That is the place where any real peace movement must begin. Nobody gets any Nobel peace prizes there, but if he wins he gains a creative power and inner wealth of vastly greater value. In that field each person is his own trainer and drill sergeant. Every person is a creator, and as such, has both power and responsibility for the making of a better world. Anyone who would be a leader of a group movement of non-violence

must first practise and master its individual applications.

Despite all war-clouds and war-mongers there is an infinite fund of kindness, generosity and good will in people of all kinds everywhere, in every nation, needing merely to be implemented and provided with a means of action in order to begin now to create a new and finer world. If people can only devise suitable instruments for good will, the world can move forward with amazing rapidity. The energy is there, waiting for an engine. Non-violent resistance is the long desired implement.

We know that violent physical conflict is one way to employ human energies. We have tried to show how non-violent resistance can utilise all these energies and give ample scope for all the virtues of war; how it may enlist, discipline and modify, without suppression of energy, the expression of those powerful primitive emotions and instincts upon which the race has depended through all its evolution, and by a new and more inclusive synthesis provide far greater range and freedom for human creative energy.

In our organisation of peace we are in a very crude and elementary stage, just as mankind was ages ago when military organisation first began to be worked out and used. The future is full of problems in the development of peace.

The individual and personal and small group aspects of our problem are somewhat like the development of army field service regulations,—not so rigid, of course, but nevertheless a definite

problem in organisation for will and action. They say it takes four years to make a good private soldier. We must be prepared to devote as much time, as much detailed care and attention, as much daily routine drill to form the new habits and new kinds of self-control for non-violent resistance, as the soldier does for his purpose. In addition to what has already been mentioned in previous chapters, some suggestions of this nature are as follows.<sup>1</sup>

If one feels anger or fear in any form, but is able to control its strong outward expression, it is wise to leave the scene as soon as possible and immediately take some brisk physical exercise, chopping wood, a brisk walk, or the like. That works off the sugar which has come into the blood by reason of the emotion<sup>1a</sup> and helps one to regain his serenity and poise and good humour. Never write a letter while angry.

After or during the exercise, if the emotion was caused by a person, try to think, not how the opponent is wrong or "what are my rights," but "how can I appeal to the best that is or may be in him; how can I avoid saying what would imply that I think he is a bad person or perhaps that I see through his attempted deception."

In order to develop the ability to meet difficult situations without fear or anger, in the manner of true non-violent resistance, it is helpful often to imagine many such situations in advance and think out the best way to act. Imagine not only important or greatly violent situations but the more frequent little occasions of annoyances,

irritation, anxiety, dread, etc. Thus one may rehearse in advance a plan of non-violence, develop a pattern of action, provide against one's weakness, and make one's eventual action much easier and surer. Or, if thoughts come which stir resentment, anger, scorn, jealousy, fear or other divisive feelings, try to plan a course of conduct which will mean overcoming the unpleasant force by creative good will. Perhaps better still, whenever there stirs within, some resentment or anger of any degree, stop and try to see what it is that you fear to lose, for some such fear is always at the bottom of such feelings, as we learned earlier. Then decide whether that possible loss is really so important, or whether it could not be prevented or salvaged by creative good will; or even try to realise the fact that it is impossible to lose permanently any spiritual reality. Such considerations usually cause the anger or fear to disappear, or at least greatly to diminish.<sup>2</sup>

If the provoking situation is caused by the selfishness, inconsiderateness or deceit of some other person, it may be helpful to reflect that although these may cause us loss, we must not let them cause us the greatest possible loss of all,—namely our sense of spiritual unity with all, our awareness of the divine principle in everyone. If we allow ourselves to become angry, frightened or impatient, we temporarily lose that connection and its realisation. That other person who has made the mistake of indulging in selfishness has lost something of untold value thereby. Our duty

is twofold,—not to let the event cause us the same loss, and to try immediately to help him to recover that treasure which he has lost. To allow myself to get irritated or angry over someone else's stupidity or carelessness is, from the point of view of spiritual knowledge, a still greater stupidity or carelessness. Also it is ugly.

Impatience is a form of fear, and tends to create anger. We must learn to be efficient and to stimulate others to be efficient and conserve time, without overvaluing time or becoming impatient. In case the purpose is blocked, either switch all thought and energy immediately to devise a plan for getting around the obstacle, and if possible persuading its energy to aid the new direction of energy; or else, if it is a blockage which cannot be remedied, turn to an entirely different task or try to contemplate the event in the largest possible aspects and integrations of life.

In a case where some hard truth must be told, and yet the telling of it, if not very tactfully done, would be sure to arouse anger or fear or ill-will, it is useful to realise why harshness or rudeness is wrong. The real reason seems to be that a truth told in a harsh or inconsiderate way becomes only a half-truth. That manner of telling it makes the situation inconsistent with the greatest and most inclusive truth, namely that we are all contained in a spiritual unity which we apprehend and express by love. A truth told in an unloving way thus becomes a partial falsehood.

Those who would use non-violent resistance must constantly remember the necessity for truth in all their words and actions. All their dealings with others, including their opponents, must be open and free from the slightest evasion, secrecy or deceit. Non-violent resistance is itself a search for social, economic or political truth. Not without reason did Gandhi choose for it and its concomitants the Indian name *Satyagraha*.<sup>2\*</sup> Whenever he has begun a campaign of non-violent resistance he has always, in ample time in advance, notified his opponents in writing what he was planning to do, when and where he was going to begin, the reasons for his action, with an offer to discuss the matter first if they were really prepared to improve the situation in the direction he believed was right.

Since cowardice is worse even than violence, special care must be taken to develop fearlessness. One great help in developing courage is a regular daily period of meditation upon the unity of the human race and upon principles which endure among the human race despite bad fortune, injuries or death,—such living principles as truth, love, humility, trust, mutual aid, work, self-sacrifice, simplicity and generosity. Such meditation develops and strengthens the feeling of the reality of human unity, ideals and principles,—a reality more complete and enduring than the life of any individual.<sup>3</sup> A person with a strong conviction of such realities is fearless. In this connection remember the psychological law that imagination and suggestion together are stronger



than even conscious will-power. So let the imagination constantly dwell upon the idea of non-violence and its associated principles. For those who are religious and believe in the eternity of the human spirit, prayer and exercises of religious devotion are a further aid, provided that God is not thought of as only transcendent and the kingdom of Heaven as a far distant or future matter, but both as immediate, immanent realities to be discovered and realised and lived here and now.<sup>8a</sup>

It will be necessary to train children so that they may, as little as possible, feel fear and anger in various phases and intensities. The apparently instinctive pugnacity of children is probably largely due to an unconscious imitation of the repressed or subconscious violent impulses and attitudes of parents and other older people, and of some angry attitudes, tones, words and actions of older people which are not at all repressed. If babies at birth have only two elemental fears, as Watson claims, then they presumably are born with very few elemental anger propensities also, and owe their subsequent ability in this direction to what they have learned from the people who trained them. Hence, during infancy and early childhood, training in non-violence will be largely a matter of unconscious imitation of attitudes, actions, tones of voice, or looks of the parents or other older persons close to the children. Parents and teachers must, therefore, begin with themselves. Older children can be much helped by formal or playful stimulus and training in manipulative

activities of all kinds. There seems to be total absence of fear while a person is meeting a danger by a carefully developed and effective and skilfully used form of manipulative activity.<sup>4</sup> For this reason a thorough understanding of how and why non-violent resistance works will help to develop fearlessness. There are many sports which tend to develop a courageous attitude of meeting dangers by skilled manipulations,—as running and dodging in games, climbing trees, riding a horse, bicycle or motor-car, managing a boat, using ropes, Boy Scout work, mountaineering, etc. Much fear can thus be transformed into scientific interest. Teaching the meaning and operation of fear and anger will be a great help. The established principle that every thought and emotion eventually has motor consequences is one which parents, teachers and children ought all to learn and ponder over. If manipulative activity is made to include the methods of non-violent resistance and good will, the child can be trained to meet all the situations of life courageously and creatively. A certain amount of both conscious and subconscious imagination and thinking can be stimulated in the child by suitable stories of courageous non-violent resistance.<sup>5</sup> The emphasis placed upon war in most of the school books on history needs correction by a revaluation as to what constitutes real progress and civilisation.

For all of us, old and young, there is much work to be done in unlearning our old mistaken and trouble-producing concepts, attitudes and

habits, and in learning and training ourselves anew in nearer consonance with truth. It will involve a re-education of our emotions, a re-conditioning of our reflexes, and a re-statement of our assumptions and beliefs.<sup>6</sup> To establish these new habits will require a period of self-discipline. It will not be easy. There will be failures. Persistence is of very great value.<sup>7</sup>

The possible occasions and situations of annoyance, anger or threatened loss which can and must be utilised for such self-training are infinite. Someone is stupid or forgets to do something, or violates a promise, or fails to return a borrowed article. Perhaps there is delay or difficulty in buying a railway ticket, or someone else's cart or motor-car collides with that in which one is driving, or there is a traffic jam when we are in a great hurry. Perhaps the telephone operator gives one the wrong number, or the food gets burned or the meal delayed. A child teases or is naughty or disobedient. Business goes wrong. There are financial losses. The crop is injured. Someone makes a slighting, scornful or contemptuous remark about oneself or about a person whom one holds dear. Someone violates a trust, or his purpose and action interferes with or frustrates our own, and so on.

One way to avoid or reduce the anger or irritation which such events usually arouse in us when they are not mere impersonal chance, is to consider the other person's acts, ideas or attitude as mistakes (taking care to remember that oneself

is also often mistaken). Even things which are deliberate and intentional are mistakes. Greed is a mistake; so are selfishness and cruelty. If they are so regarded it is easier to bear them, just as one child puts up with the mistakes of others in their school lessons, even though such mistakes often hold back the entire class or result in their all being punished. Others suffer for our mistakes and we must suffer for theirs. This needs patience, kindness, endless repetition, trying to understand how the other person's mind works and what his assumptions and fears are, never giving up hope.

Again, we all need to exercise tolerance in allowing other persons to choose their own way or means or symbol of expressing their sense of human unity. For example, a wealthy person may seem very stingy to us and yet be expressing his vision of unity or beauty or perfection by gathering a collection of paintings which he plans to give to a public museum at his death. Or he may be paying for a scientific expedition to the South Seas, or for beds in a hospital. The fact that he is wholly unresponsive to appeals for another kind of good work, or even that he exploits people with one hand while he gives away with the other is no ground for harsh personal criticism of him. The employees of his company may find it necessary to go on strike in order to educate him to a wider and clearer sense of human unity, and in order to maintain their own self-respect and freedom and life, but there need be no more ill-will about it than where

boys are teaching a new, ignorant boy how to play football as a necessary part of school life.

The non-violent resister will have many problems as to what institutions or customs he will co-operate with and what not, or to what extent his co-operation will go. As he carries on, his vision will grow clearer. Certain activities will come to seem less important; others will become more important. Some, which at first he approved, will come to seem mistaken or even wholly wrong. When they come to seem wholly inconsistent with the truth as he sees it, he will dissociate himself from them. We may treat such changes as Fox did the question of William Penn, the recently converted son of an Admiral, whether he should continue to wear a sword: "Wear it as long as thou canst."<sup>8</sup>

Some who are sensitive may naturally hesitate to take a position before the public which will make them seem conspicuous, different from their friends, or "queer." In regard to non-essentials that is indeed wise, and it is for each person to decide for himself what is or is not essential or important. In making this decision, however, it will be wise to remember that it is of very great importance to have one's outer acts correspond with one's inner attitude. In situations where mutual understanding is needed, it is also often important to make the outer action or symbol of such a nature that it will be understood by the other party. Again the value of social courage is to be duly considered and balanced with the importance of avoiding display or notoriety. So

long as each one of us strives to express his own vision of truth, with as much fidelity and strength as is in him, may we not let others go their way without irritation on our part? Each in his own way and according to his own light must avoid, on the one hand externalism and its tendency toward Puritanism and dualism, and on the other hand too much turning inward with its tendency to conservative action, dependence and waste. Life needs to be lived as a whole, with courageous and faithful external expression and fulfilment of inner truth, with a fine balance and harmony between the inner and outer life.

Inasmuch as some non-violent resisters will sooner or later find themselves in jail, it would be advisable to imagine as many situations there as possible and what one should do in accordance with principles of non-violent resistance. There will be such difficulties as rough arrests, "third degree," prison discipline, various insults, humiliations and intimidations. Gandhi's instructions to his followers are interesting in this connection; also the conduct of conscientious objectors in English and American prisons during the war.<sup>9</sup>

In companionships and modes of living there are great advantages in being among the poor and simple, not because of their poverty or lacks, but because the simplicity which their poverty compels conduces to clearness of vision. Since most of the people of the world are poor, to live with the poor helps, by quantitative suggestion, to keep us steadily aware of human unity.

All the great religious teachers have stressed the importance of simple living, of having few possessions. Simplicity reduces overhead expense in money, time and energy; reduces moral risk for oneself and temptations for others; makes for moral "efficiency" by avoiding clutter; helps to create moral clarity and moral beauty by removing irrelevant details and emphasising essential unity; helps to produce self-reliance, strength, freedom, and clearness of spiritual vision. It reduces the number of possible choices of daily living, and hence the number of necessary decisions, and thereby reduces nervous strain. It is a part of true detachment in relation to property. Simplicity is a veto to the greed and competitive spirit of capitalism. Simplicity reduces the likelihood of anger and fear of loss. It helps to avoid creating envy or inferiority complexes among others, and thereby reduces a contributing cause of violence. Habituation to simplicity of living and to fewness of possessions greatly reduces the sense of hardship in jail life and hence reduces the fear of going to jail or of having one's property confiscated by the Government or of having it attached in lawsuits brought by private opponents. For this reason simplicity of living is a necessary preparation and condition for successful participation in any serious industrial strike or movement of non-violent resistance. Indeed, without simplicity of living, thorough-going and prolonged non-violent resistance is exceedingly difficult and probably impossible, for the leaders at least. Simplicity is required of soldiers also.

We can avoid much heated feeling if we once thoroughly realise how much of our life is dealing with abstractions, symbols, labels and tags and how seldom does a particular noun or adjective have exactly the same connotation or meaning to any two individuals, much less to two groups of peoples.<sup>10</sup> Careful definition would reduce many disputes which are now not about realities but about words, symbols and tags.

Much bother would also be saved by wholeheartedly adopting the policy of concentrating as much as possible of one's attention, energy, thought and time upon creative, constructive good and letting the evil, so far as possible, die from lack of attention, from being ignored, or from being crowded out by good.

Yet if the person of creative kindness finds his efforts snubbed or repulsed, treated with contempt or exploited, returned with injury or ill-will, he may not allow himself to become resentful or self-pitying. That is a test of his persistence, his sincerity, his faith, his will, his love, his imagination and skill. Let him create victory by his strength and the creative power of his method.<sup>11</sup> It is a modern application of Christ's parable about the necessity for seeking the kingdom of God *importunately*.<sup>12</sup>

As we have seen, non-violent resistance is in part a proposal to control anger as completely and thoroughly as militarism has controlled fear. Anger is to be controlled and eliminated by what someone has called "the expulsive power of new



emotions." The non-violent resister must work out the details of this discipline and never cease its application.

Self-reliance in both thought and action is a quality that needs cultivation by the user of non-violent resistance. This is one of the reasons for Gandhi's insistence upon home-spinning by all his followers. That provides a partial economic and social self-reliance for both individuals and the nation, and often economic independence is the beginning and foundation of other varieties of self-reliance.<sup>13</sup>

Another part of the discipline we are here considering is the frequent doing of acts which express or imply social equality as well as kindness and love. They tend to remove fear and anger by creating a sense of unity. This is the real reason for all forms of courtesy and thoughtfulness. Such acts also positively build up a state of mind and heart which crowds out fear and anger. All his life Gandhi has insisted upon the necessity of service to all men, and especially to the poor. One way to develop and strengthen the important sentiment of love is to do acts of humble service involving personal time and energy and direct contact with those being served,—more than mere gifts of money or of things, and more than directing work to be done by others. Work *with* people, not merely *for* them. By increasing the awareness of human unity, such service tends to increase courage.

In order to build up firmness in resistance, the gentle resister should undertake a series of

non-violent refusals or vetoes against evils or injustices,—beginning with simple, easy refusals against small wrongs, repeating the refusals until strength and discipline are acquired, and then gradually increasing the scale of difficulty. Such refusals may best begin with a refusal to continue with some wrong feeling or attitude of mind within the resister himself. This may be extended to refusals to do certain wrong acts of which he has been guilty, thus getting rid of bad habits and building up better ones instead. When he has thus successfully converted himself, he may then perhaps move on to converting others gradually, refusing to support or permit the wrong acts of others.

In addition to the things which the non-violent resister will need to do, there are many things which he will need to avoid doing because they are morally and spiritually, and often logically, inconsistent with his main purpose and concept. Such inconsistencies as these have been in the past one of the chief reasons for the impotence of pacifism in the West. Also they were probably an important cause of the break-down of international socialism at the beginning of the World War. The inconsistencies have often been wholly unconscious, but they have been no less real and weakening on that account.

Let us merely name a few of these for the reader to work out for himself. They would, we believe, include the following: greed, the evils of capitalism and purely monetary valuations, the modern Western over-emphasis on individualism,<sup>14</sup>

race pride,<sup>15</sup> class pride, intellectual pride, aggressive nationalism,<sup>16</sup> *hatred* of anything, even of injustice or wrong: "righteous indignation," priggishness, complacency, intolerance, luxury, parents punishing children for lying although they deceive the children either directly or by implication themselves. Perhaps suing in courts or calling upon the police for assistance are also to be included in the list. This list does not pretend to be authoritative or complete, but merely to offer food for thought.

The principles underlying all the foregoing suggestions are truth, love, spiritual unity and equality, gentleness, simplicity, self-purification and voluntary self-suffering as a means of persuasion. Search for these principles everywhere in every occasion. Immerse yourself in these concepts. Let your imagination dwell upon them. Meditate upon them regularly and often.<sup>17</sup> Seek persons, books and environments which tend to strengthen them and illuminate their implications, applications and results. Try constantly to practise them so as to understand them better. Bear always in mind the effect of frequent repetition of gentle stimuli, and the necessity for persistence and patience. With some such revision of your attitudes, assumptions and purposes, as we have tried to suggest, reconsider the art of loving your neighbours, your opponents and strangers. Perhaps the best descriptions of the discipline are the lives of the great teachers of this idea,—Buddha, Christ, St. Francis of Assisi, George Fox, John Woolman, Gandhi and others.

One need not foresee all situations, and plan and know in advance just what to do on every occasion. Saturate yourself with the right sentiments and as full an understanding and faith as possible, and then each difficult situation will be met rightly. "Keep thy heart with all diligence, for out of the heart are the issues of life." Trust to your own inner creativeness.

The non-violent resister tries never to be dogmatic about his vision of the truth, and stands ready to test it by suffering all its consequences himself so far as he is able. He imposes his views on himself first and asks others to follow only when persuaded by the results. Thus non-violent resistance is a thoroughly responsible programme and it searchingly tests the sincerity of its users.

Growing out of the principle of love is the necessity for the non-violent resister to show great trust in the better nature of all people, even of his opponents, or of people who may have been deceitful. Trust in certain respects can be combined even with non-co-operation or non-violent resistance in other respects. Gandhi's life is a good example of this. But as Niebuhr so incisively points out in relation to America:

"Love which expresses itself in trust without expressing itself in sacrifice is futile. It is not thorough-going enough to be creative or redemptive."<sup>18</sup>

The non-violent resister will be wise to ponder deeply the place of beauty in human relationships, the primary importance of moral beauty over all other kinds of beauty, and

morality as an art.<sup>19</sup> Also the importance of joy<sup>20</sup> and humour. Through these qualities he will save himself from rigid austerity and Puritanism, and retain his freedom, poise, sense of proportion, and loveliness. He should try to get rid of egocentricity and time-oppression so completely and feel his unity with all life so strongly as to make him gay, like St. Francis.

## CHAPTER XVI

### GROUP TRAINING AND DISCIPLINE

Early in the Indian struggle of 1930 Gandhi wrote,<sup>1</sup>

"An idea, whether good or bad, can be said to have gained ground only when it strikes the imagination of masses of men. . . . If non-violence could not affect masses of mankind, it is a waste of effort for individuals to cultivate it. I hold it to be the greatest gift of God. And all God's gifts are the common heritage of His creation and not a monopoly of cloistered monks or nuns. They may specialise in non-violence, they may teach us its wonderful effects, but if their discoveries and their claims are sound, they must be adaptable by masses. If truth be not a monopoly of the few, why should non-violence, its counter-part, be otherwise?"

When we come to consider group and national uses of non-violent resistance, we immediately face the necessity for leaders and for training, discipline and organisation.

Non-violent resistance requires as leaders, clear, keen, careful thinkers, who must know human nature profoundly. But the world always produces such leaders when the times are ripe, and such leaders are thrown up from the people in the course of a non-violent struggle. It is our duty, each in his own small sphere, to help ripen the time and prepare the way. We each can in some way work for the removal of anger and fear. Leaders can be trained by experience, self-discipline and study, just as in every sort of

organisation.<sup>2</sup> We are of course only in the crude beginnings of the organisation of non-violent resistance and have much to try and to learn.

Group leaders should study and learn all they can about group thinking and the analysis of conflict and the reintegration of the elements of the conflict in order to find a solution. People who have the aptitude for such matters can learn this by experience and observation, but much can be learned also from suitable books.<sup>3</sup>

Sound leadership will give the masses a considerable period of education into the meaning of the method, with occasional small demonstrations to create further understanding. This education will require a vast amount of long continued speaking, discussion, and writing, using all kinds of situations, especially those involving public or private conflict, as examples and instances for the application of the principles of non-violence. The principles of persuasion, repetition and summation of stimuli, so well known by teachers and advertisers, will have to be employed with skill and patience and persistence.<sup>4</sup> Mass sentiment must be cultivated, as well as that of individuals. We must study and apply all that has been learned about the laws of stimulus and response.<sup>4a</sup> The example of leaders is most potent.

Gandhi has long regarded unselfish public service, especially in direct help to the poor, a very important part of discipline and preparation for non-violent resistance by groups. Mutual aid is an essential part of the search for and expression

of social truth and human unity. Aid of the poor is the most needed part of that search and expression. Recently Gandhi wrote :

“Constructive programme is not essential for local civil disobedience for specific relief, as in the case of Bardoli. Tangible common grievance restricted to a particular locality is enough. But for such an indefinable thing as Swaraj (Independence) people must have previous training in doing things of all-India interest. Such work must throw together the people and their leaders whom they would trust implicitly. Trust begotten in the pursuit of continuous constructive work becomes a tremendous asset at the critical moment. Constructive work, therefore, is for a non-violent army what drilling, etc. is for an army designed for bloody warfare. Individual civil disobedience among an unprepared people and by leaders not known to or trusted by them is of no avail, and mass civil disobedience is an impossibility. The more, therefore, the progress of the constructive programme, the greater is there the chance for civil disobedience.”<sup>5</sup>

Yet even in the case of Bardoli, which we described in Chapter I, Gandhi ascribed much of its success to the fact that a constructive economic and social programme of reform had been going on there for six or seven years previous. Such social service can best begin with work in one's own neighbourhood, or at least in one's own town if one is a town dweller. There are many ways of seeking social truth; many relationships and fields in which more truth is needed. Constant adherence to truth creates trust by the masses in their leaders and confidence and reliance of



leaders in the group,—mutual trust and therefore unity and cohesion.

A non-violent movement because it is truth-seeking, cannot be a mere negative refusal. It must have a positive constructive programme of reform,—must be an active peace. The programme should not be mere talk and meetings, but if possible involve something concrete that can be done by the hands of inarticulate people, by all kinds of women and even children, as well as men,—something that adds to the economic security or real welfare of the masses. It will vary from country to country and from time to time. The working of such a programme absorbs the energy of the people and leaders and keeps them from becoming resentful or bitter about obstacles. It is the way to build a better world. It is creative. It is a part of a change of values and helps to free the minds of the people.<sup>6</sup>

It will be noted in Gandhi's own case that the trust, reverence and love created by such work and by his voluntary poverty and rigid adherence to truth are so great that the Government dare not dispose of him as they would an unknown man. A long period of service of the poor generates a body of favourable public opinion which powerfully supports the leader who has so served, and if he becomes engaged in a struggle, his opponents, even a government, must reckon with that support. The trust sustains the movement despite obstacles, and incidentally protects the lives of the leaders so that their usefulness is extended. Those who would become leaders of a

non-violent movement of liberation should first, like Gandhi, spend five or ten years or more among the masses, devoting all their time and energy to unselfish service in economic, health and social reform work, expressing concretely their belief in human unity and getting as many others as possible to do likewise.

In military struggles it is recognised that the discipline and morale of troops is often a stronger factor for success than is their number. This is even more true in a struggle by non-violent methods because the struggle is so much more in the purely moral realm. The quality of character of a band of non-violent resisters is of more importance than their quantity, for if their character be fine, others will follow their example and if they follow truly the struggle will eventually be won.<sup>6a</sup>

We have learned some of the qualities needed for non-violent resistance. They are common human traits, found among the masses as frequently as among special groups, and all capable of cultivation, discipline and organisation. The discipline may be imposed only by kindly persuasion and force of example. Much can be learned from books on military morale and discipline.<sup>7</sup>

I have suggested that the individual gentle resister should gain practice in his resistances by gradual steps of increasing difficulty. Group and mass refusals or vetoes also should be developed from easy, simple beginnings. The first action should be taken by a small well-disciplined group, and confined to it until the method becomes

understood and discipline acquired by more people. The group may first refuse to support certain sentiments, sayings or actions of others or some local wrong. Later, after discipline has become stronger and more firmly established, some more deep-seated or widely occurring evil may be tackled. If possible, such refusals should not be extended further than the stage of self-control and discipline which the group has reached, for to go further will usually court defeat and discouragement. But if truth and honour require a struggle, it should not be shirked, for there will be at least some demonstration of the power of the method.

Leaders should remember that in any group struggle it is more important that the method should be thoroughly learned and adhered to than that any particular end should be immediately attained. For if the method is once mastered by the people they can attain any end they desire, provided it is consonant with social and economic truth. But if violence is used in attaining the end, the end becomes tainted with violence, and will make trouble for its possessors and all concerned.

In order to wean men's minds, emotions and assumptions from the prevailing tradition of militarism and violence, it may be desirable to understand sentimentality and romanticism fairly clearly, for militarists are profoundly romantic and sentimental, although they dearly love to consider themselves the only realists in the world. Without attempting an essay on the subject we can perhaps gain some light by adopting Mr. Wyndham Lewis' definition of sentimentality,<sup>8</sup>

namely—"Any idea should be regarded as 'sentimental' that is not taken to its ultimate conclusion. I propose that as a working definition of 'sentimentality'." If the militarists would only carry their idea through to its logical conclusion they would see that with modern weapons it means the extinction of the human species. Why then should we follow them any longer? Our previous consideration of the implications of non-violent resistance shows that this other idea would, on the contrary, enhance the chance for survival of the race. "The meek shall inherit the earth."

One important characteristic of romanticists is their love of using symbols and using them uncritically. They are enraptured by flags, insignia, uniforms, names of famous warriors, historical allusions to political and military prowess, salutes, ceremonial, pomp, display and the like. In part, this tendency is essential to civilisation, for symbols are great stimulators and carriers of energy, and such things are a necessary part of any mass sentiment.<sup>9</sup> The energy of romanticists is excellent, but they make trouble often by using symbols which have become ambiguous or distorted from their original meaning or wholly false to modern realities. When an ambiguous or false symbol is used, then the energy which it arouses is moved in the wrong direction and makes trouble. Symbols are excellent pieces of emotional and intellectual machinery, but they need periodic analysis and remodelling. A change of symbols involves a reconditioning of reflexes.

There is need for much psychological invention of new symbols and kinds of ceremonial and organised mass celebration and demonstration conducive to sentiments of non-violence and non-violent resistance. Some of the devices and methods used by organisations with other sorts of purposes and ideals can be used for this purpose. Meetings and processions are very effective to generate enthusiasm for an idea, to make it seem attractive to people ordinarily indifferent, to make everyone,—participants, onlookers and those who hear of it later,—realise the strength and possibilities of the idea and of its embodiment, and thus to make converts.<sup>10</sup> Such meetings and processions and mass demonstrations will be a part of the training for mass non-violence and also a part of any mass struggle of non-violent resistance. Yet such meetings are not a substitute for detailed constructive work. Both are needed.<sup>10a</sup>

Economic boycott or non-co-operation is one of the weapons of mass non-violent resistance. It offers room for much experiment and work. Economic injustice, industrial, commercial and political exploitation must be ended as a part of the realisation of the spiritual unity and equality of mankind and its outward expression.<sup>10b</sup> There is so much mistaken thought, attitude, and habit that this spiritual equality must be asserted strongly and with energy, although without violence. Mere words or pleas are not enough. They are only a part of our total language. They probably must be supplemented in many instances by strikes and economic boycotts and perhaps even by refusals to

pay taxes. If done in the right way these help to create and strengthen the desired realisations both among the employers and employees, among the exploiters and those who are exploited, among the governors and those who are governed. By non-violent voluntary suffering with love we can find new realms of social, economic and political truth. The real reason for my going on strike to stop the exploitation of myself and my fellow workers is not because the exploitation is making us suffer, but because the fears which it tends to induce in me and in them threaten our awareness of and connection with the most valuable element of our existence. The corresponding blindness and greed induced at the same time in the employers, owners or stockholders similarly rob them of the same treasure. We strike for the benefit of everyone, but to carry out our end it is essential that there be no violence of act or motive on our part. Since the human family is one, and fine equality of intercourse is essential to a fine civilisation, the workers have a duty to help the employer from becoming too blinded by the economic system of which they are a part.

Just as among individuals there are many attitudes and habits which are inconsistent with thorough-going non-violence, this is also true of our group, community and national life. Some such inconsistencies we have mentioned above. Some are obvious, others are more subtle or hidden. For example, governments punish men for murder, but also punish men if they refuse to murder upon order from the government in certain occasions

called war, as if murder were a government monopoly. As an example of the more subtle sort of inconsistency, it is possible that great size in any executive organisation inevitably results in bureaucracy, ignorance, moral irresponsibility, pretence, psychological strain, injustice and eventually in coercion and violence of thought and action.<sup>11</sup> This might mean that small-scale, decentralised, largely autonomous units with different and perhaps new modes of integration into larger units would give us sounder forms of human association and group life. Again, probably purely financial controls of large organisations tend to create injustice and violence. But we have no room to discuss these points here.

Care must be taken lest a given struggle should become violent in spirit although retaining an outward form or manner of non-violence. This has occurred in some student strikes in India. It is perhaps even more likely to occur in cases of individual non-violent resistance. The interested reader will do well to consult Gandhi's writings in regard to this.<sup>12</sup>

We should also take care not to become discouraged by any particular or indeed by many apparent failures of non-violent resistance. In the development of the use of mass non-violent resistance such failures will occur just as in military history there have been breakdowns of morale, flights, routs and defeats. If the idea is understood by the leaders, such apparent failures only mean that the discipline and training and "purification" have not been thorough enough and carried on.

long enough. The apparent failure only calls for a strategic retreat and for further training and inner strengthening. As Gandhi so well said,<sup>13</sup> "If therefore the forces of violence arrayed against us cannot be checkmated during our time, it would be no proof of the futility of non-violence,—it would certainly be proof of the pervading cowardice." That points to the place for further work. .

He also wrote, "I am impatient to reach the goal if we can through non-violence and truth. I have infinite patience to wait if we cannot reach the goal without the sacrifice of non-violence and truth. Both spring from my unshakable faith in the supremacy of non-violence and truth. However long the route may appear, it is in my opinion the shortest."<sup>14</sup>

Among the different groups in the world, those which are exploited will be apt to be the leaders in the use of non-violent resistance. This means the Asiatic nations and African tribes, the Negroes in America and manual workers in all nations. Since the armies of the near future are to be mechanised, labour organisations, whose members make the machines, will bear an increasing responsibility for the maintenance of war. The militarists will be inclined to do their utmost to control the thinking and emotional attitudes and habits of the workers.<sup>15</sup>

The League of Nations, as an instrument for real peace, seems to me to be born ahead of its time. No doubt it performs political and informative functions that are useful to certain nations



and certain groups, but that is a different matter. Much spade work is required before there can be a true league of nations for true peace. At present there is not the recognition of spiritual equality present to afford a basis for such a condition. Peace is a by-product of the persistent application of social truth, justice, and strong, intelligent love. Since peace is a by-product, a resulting condition, we can attain it only by carrying out the principles which will yield it. The price of peace is the price of justice. Once the necessary spade work and psychological preparation has been done it would be very easy to prevent war through various organisations such as labour unions, churches, etc. Increased understanding of the processes and causes of war and of the psychology of anger, fear and other divisive emotions will greatly help to prevent war.

There is a necessity for more interesting, more positive, more heroic and more beautiful concepts of peace and social truth. They must be the work of many minds and hearts. Even the hastiest consideration of a non-violent nation shows that it would excel those of the present day in respect to health, distribution and total amount of real consumable wealth, freedom, creativeness, art, and joy. Perhaps we could not expect these new visions to be very definite or concrete until we could evolve an instrument for cutting out the paths of social truth. I believe that non-violent resistance is this tool. If it is, I hope that many may grasp and use it.

There are great areas of thought and action which still remain to be explored in the practice of non-violent resistance. It will require sensitive apprehension, keen and profound thought, courage, endurance, indomitable will and resolution, and much patience, wisdom and love to test and prove these ways into the future. We cannot be dogmatic. But we must have faith enough to act. It is pioneering. We hope to win bright and happy regions for our children and perhaps even for ourselves.

This book is only an elementary statement of the values and possibilities of non-violent resistance. Some day we shall know them more clearly and fully. Much more than there is in this book can be learned from the words and lives of the great leaders and practisers of this idea. Yet many of their truths need restatement in modern phraseology in order to be clearly understood.

Men have become so disillusioned by ages of greed, violence and war that few now really believe that the kingdom of God can actually be created here on earth. But I believe that this ideal can be realised. This book is an attempt to describe the practical instrument by which we can make very great progress towards that goal.

# NOTES BY CHAPTERS

## CHAPTER I

1 This is based on and largely quoted from accounts by A. Fenner Brockway in his *Non-co-operation in Other Lands*, Tagore & Co., Madras, India, and his essay "Does Non-co-operation Work," in *Pacifism in the Modern World*, ed. by D. Allen, Doubleday, Doran, New York, 1929.

2 For further details see M. K. Gandhi, *Satyagraha in South Africa*, S. Ganesan, Madras, 1928; *Mahatma Gandhi—Life, Writings and Speeches*, Ganesh, Madras; *Speeches and Writings of M. K. Gandhi*, Natesan, Madras; *M. K. Gandhi*, by J. J. Doke, Natesan, Madras; *M. K. Gandhi, My Experiments with Truth*, Vols. I and II, Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad, India, 1927, 1929; *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas*, by C. F. Andrews, Allen & Unwin, London, and Macmillan, New York, 1930; *Mahatma Gandhi, the Man and his Mission*, G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, 9th ed. 1931; *Mahatma Gandhi*, by R. M. Gray and M. C. Parekh, Association Press, Calcutta, 1928; *Mahatma Gandhi; His Own Story*, ed. by C. F. Andrews, Allen & Unwin, London, and Macmillan, New York, 1930; *Mahatma Gandhi at Work*, by C. F. Andrews, Allen & Unwin, London, and Macmillan, New York, 1931; J. C. Winslow and V. Elwin, *Gandhi; the Dawn of Indian Freedom*, Fleming H. Revell Co., New York, published as *The Dawn of Indian Freedom*, Allen & Unwin, London, 1931; *Gandhi the Apostle*, by H. T. Muzumdar, Chicago, Universal Press, 1923; Frederick B. Fisher, *That Strange Little Brown Man, Gandhi*, Long & Smith, New York, 1932;

*Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi*, 4th ed., 1933, G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

3 *My Experiments with Truth*, above cited, Vol. II; the three lives of Gandhi published by Natesan and Ganesh of Madras, above cited; also Rajendra Prasad, *Satyagraha in Champaran*, Ganesan, Madras, 1929; *Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi*, above cited. Also the books by C. F. Andrews, above cited.

4 See also *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas*, by C. F. Andrews, above cited, pp. 177-9; *Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi*, above cited; and Winslow and Elwin, *Gandhi: the Dawn of Indian Freedom*, above cited, pp. 148-51.

5 For the early stages of this struggle see *Essays Political and National*, by S. E. Stokes, Chaps. 12 and 13, S. Ganesan, Madras, 1921.

6 See files of *Young India*, Ahmedabad, 1928, and early 1929, for full details. Also files of Bombay and other Indian papers and Journals. Also *The Story of Bardoli*, by Mahadev Desai, Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad, India, 1929; Winslow and Elwin, above cited, pp. 142-4; *Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi*, above cited.

6a See the leading British newspapers and general weekly and monthly journals published in London during the spring and summer of 1926, including the two special news-sheets published during the strike, *The British Gazette*, issued by the Government, and *The British Worker*, issued by the Unions; also the leading New York newspapers for those nine days. Also Wilfred Harries Crook, *The General Strike*, Oxford Univ. Press and University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N. C., 1931; G. H. D. Cole, *A Short History of the British Working Class Movement*, 1900-27,

London, and Macmillan, New York, 1927; George Galsgow, *General Strikes and Road Transport*, Geoffrey Bles, London, 1926; Kingsley Martin, *The British Public and the General Strike*, Hogarth Press, London, 1926; Sir John Simon, *Three Speeches on the General Strike*, Macmillan, London, 1926; R. Page Arnot, *The General Strike of May*, 1926, Labour Research Dept., London, 1926; Hamilton Fyfe, *Behind the Scenes of the Great Strike*, Labour Publishing Co., London, 1926; R. W. Postgate, E. Wilkinson and J. F. Horrabin, *A Worker's History of the Great Strike*, Plebs League, London, 1927; Scott Nearing, *The British General Strike*, Vanguard Press, New York, 1926; J. A. R. Marriott, *Modern England*, London.

6b See the *London Times* for October 16 and 17, 1934, and February 1, 2 and 4, 1935; also the *New York Times* and *New York Herald-Tribune* for October 15, 16 and 17, 1934, and for February 1, 2 and 3, 1935.

7 For detailed accounts see the files of the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Nation* (New York) for 1922 and 1923, also Savel Zimand, *Living India*, Chap. 13, Longmans Green, 1928.

8 For description of this movement see *Young India*, 1919-22, Ganesan, Madras, and Huebsch, New York; Krishnadas, *Seven Months with Mahatma Gandhi*, Vol. I, Ganesan, Madras, 1928, Vol. II, Rambinode Sinha, Dighwara, Behar, India, 1928; and Savel Zimand, *Living India*, Chaps. 11 and 12, above cited; *Mahatma Gandhi*, G. A. Natesan, Madras, 1930; *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas*, by C. F. Andrews, above cited; *Mahatma Gandhi*, by Gray and Parekh, above cited; and Winslow and Elwin, above cited.

9 Cf. latter part of Chap. X and its notes. See Winslow and Elwin above cited, pp. 151-70; Frederick

B. Fisher, above cited, especially Chap. 4; and Haridas T. Muzumdar, *Gandhi versus the Empire*, Universal Press, New York, 1932.

9a *A Study of Chinese Boycotts*, by C. F. Remer, Hopkins Press, Baltimore, U.S.A., 1933.

10 For other instances of the use of non-violent resistance by individuals see the lives of Buddha and Christ and records of the early Quakers and Moravians. Also Devere Allen, *The Fight for Peace*, Chaps. 22 and 23, Macmillan, 1930; C. M. Case, *Non-Violent Coercion*, Century Co., New York, 1923; Adin Ballou, *Christian Non-Resistance*, 2nd ed., Universal Peace Union, Philadelphia, 1910; J. H. Holmes, *New Wars for Old*, Chap. V and VI, Dodd, Mead, New York, 1916; Erica and Roderic Dunkerley, *The Arm of God*, Oliphants, Ltd., Edinburgh, 1917; William James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, Longmans Green, 1902, P. 359; "The Test of Faith," by E. Richards, *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 131, p. 617, May 1923; Thomas Hancock, *Principles of Peace Exemplified*, 1825; Carl Heath, *Pacifism in Time of War*, Headley Bros., London, 1915; J. W. Graham, *Conscription and Conscience*, Allen & Unwin, London, 1922; D. C. Moomaw, *Christianity versus War*, Brethren Pub. Co., Ashland, O., 1924; A. Fenner Brockway, previously cited; Norman Thomas, *Is Conscience a Crime?* Vanguard Press, New York, 1928; W. J. Chamberlain, *Fighting for Peace*, No More War Movement, London, 1929; Edward Needles Wright, *Conscientious Objectors in the Civil War*, Univ. of Pennsylvania Press and Oxford Univ. Press, 1931.

For examples of group or mass use of non-violent resistance, in addition to the Indian instances above cited, see Devere Allen, *The Fight for Peace*; C. M. Case, *Non-violent Coercion*; Adin Ballou, *Christian Non-*

*Resistance*; J. H. Holmes, *New Wars for Old*, all cited above in this note.

## CHAPTER II

1 "All observers agree that it is easier and requires less courage to attack than to withstand fire without retaliation." F. C. Bartlett, *Psychology and the Soldier*, Cambridge University Press, 1927, at p. 175.

2 P. 448 of A. F. Shand's *The Foundations of Character*, Macmillan, London and New York, 1914.

3 "Don't resist when your opponent pushes you; rather increase your pace in that direction and pull him a little at the same time, or vice versa should he be pulling you. Don't let him ever get the 'strain' on you, but go with him, if anything a little faster than his pull would cause you to. By following this precept you are—if I may describe it so—almost catching your balance before he wishes you lost it, while he is practically losing his and is without the aid of your resistance—on which he has been more or less depending to help him regain *his* balance. Thus, in an easy and simple manner you neutralise his efforts to get you off your balance and at the same time create a favourable opportunity of effecting a throw, by keeping him off his. . . ." *Jiu-Jitsu*, by Uyenishi, Athletic Publications, Ltd., London. See also article by Prof. Jigosa Kano in *Modern Review* (Calcutta) for November 1922, pp. 637-8.

4 W. B. Cannon, *Bodily Changes in Pain, Hunger, Fear and Rage*, D. Appleton & Co., New York and London, 1927.

5 G. W. Crile, *Origin and Nature of the Emotions*, W. B. Saunders Co., Philadelphia and New York, 1915,

especially pp. 30, 52, 61. Also W. E. Hocking, *Morale and its Enemies*, Yale University Press, New Haven, U.S.A., 1918, at pp. 53, 54.

6 This suggests that the whole Western world, with its fondness for violence, and yet its knowledge of Christian and Buddhist ethics, is in a state of inner conflict and disintegrated personality, and needs a sort of psycho-analysis and suggestion to free it. Cf. T. Burrow, *The Social Basis of Consciousness*, Kegan Paul, London and Harcourt Brace, New York, 1927. Perhaps this is why all modern nations, on going into war, protest that they are acting purely on the defensive.

6a See *Prisoners and Common Sense*, by Thomas Mott Osborne, former Warden at Auburn and Sing Sing Prisons, New York, Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1924; *The Criminal as a Human Being*, by George S. Dougherty, former Deputy Commissioner and Chief of Detectives, New York, D. Appleton & Co., New York and London, 1924; *500 Criminal Careers*, by S. and E. T. Glueck, Knopf, New York, 1930; *A Psychological and Educational Survey of 1916 Prisoners in the Western Pennsylvania Penitentiary of Pennsylvania*, by William T. Root, Jr., published by Board of Trustees of that prison, 1927; *Criminology*, by Robert H. Gault, Editor of the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, D. C. Heath & Co., New York, 1932; *The Offender*, by Burdette G. Lewis, Commissioner of Correction, City of New York, Harper Bros., New York, 1917; *Curing the Criminal*, by Jesse O. Stutsman, General Superintendent of Rockview Penitentiary, Bellefonte, Pennsylvania, Macmillan, New York, 1926. Cf. also *Penal Discipline*, by Mary Gordon, Late H.M. Inspector of Prisons, George Routledge & Sons, London, 1922; *Taming the Criminal*, by John Lewis Gillin, Professor of Sociology, University of Wisconsin, New York, 1931.



7 I do not mean to say that the usual attitude of employers in a strike is really non-violent or necessarily even courageous. We will consider such cases more fully later.

8 Baudouin, one of the leaders of the Nancy school of psychologists, gives the two following "laws of suggestion":

"1. Law of Concentrated Attention: The Idea which tends to realise itself in this way is always an idea upon which spontaneous *attention* is concentrated.

"2. Law of Auxiliary Emotion: When for one reason or another an idea is enveloped in a powerful *emotion*, there is more likelihood that this idea will be suggestively realised."

Page 143 of his *Suggestion and Auto-Suggestion*, translated by Eden and Cedar Paul, Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, and Allen & Unwin, London, 1931.

9 Cf. W. E. Hocking, *Human Nature and its Remaking*, 2nd ed. at p. 374, Yale University Press, New Haven, U. S. A., and Oxford University Press, London, 1928.

10 Shand, *loc. cit.*, pp. 430 and 448.

10a R. V. Feldman, *The Domain of Selfhood*, Allen & Unwin, London, 1934; also Wm. McDougal and A. G. Tansley.

11 "In modern civilisation . . . the individual's great struggle in life is not so much a problem of self-preservation in a physical sense as it is one of attaining social approbation and potency. . . . As society increases its care for the individual, and the individual for society . . . the individual grows more and more to need social esteem in order to feel safe and comfortable. . . . One of the most persistent causes of anxiety and

depression is the fear that he has lost prestige through a blunder or a vicious indulgence." E. J. Kempf, *Autonomic Functions and the Personality*, pp. 93, 94 and 95, Nervous and Mental Diseases Publ. Co., New York and Washington, D. C., 1921.

12 Macmillan, London and New York, 1916.

13 See Clive Bell, *Civilization*, pp. 221, 222, Chatto & Windus, London, 1928; also "The Motives of the Soldier," by T. H. Proctor, 31 *International Journal of Ethics*, p. 26, October 1920.

14 "When fear restrains the impulse of anger, in a mind capable of reflection and foresight, it tends to render anger deliberately cruel. . . .

"What is meant by cruelty implies enjoyment in inflicting pain, and the intention or desire to inflict it. —For this anger that is successful in attaining its end has the enjoyment of success, and, when this success coincides with the subjection of another, the enjoyment of pride.

"When fear restrains the impulse of anger, it tends to render anger at first more painful, and afterwards revengeful and cruel; as if there were a desire of inflicting suffering in revenge for the pains of fear. . . . But when the initial and painful stage of anger is prolonged, when it is restrained by the most painful of all emotions, fear, so humiliating to pride, we can understand how the coward who dares not attack his enemy openly, or without superior advantages, broods over his revenge, and how his revenge becomes deliberate, implacable and cruel. And thus it is that cowardly men are often cruel, because the same circumstances that tend to arouse their anger tend also to arouse fear, so that there arises a constant interaction between these emotions." A. F. Shand, *The Foundations of Character*, Macmillan, London, 1914, pp. 268, 269.

15 Cf. Chap. V.

16 A. F. Shand, *The Foundations of Character*, p. 448.

17 If you protest that you cannot love your enemies, please patiently postpone this objection until Chapter XIV.

18 W. E. Hocking says, "Unless I am, in fact, so much of a seer to be a lover of my enemy, it is both futile and false to assume the behaviour of love; we can generally rely on the enemy to give such conduct its true name." *Human Nature and Its Remaking*, 2nd ed., p. 376, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1928.

Gandhi said to me in reference to such a situation, "If you have a sword in your bosom, take it out and use it like a man," meaning, of course, that if you really wish to injure your enemy, do it openly and courageously.

19 In *Young India* for Nov. 5, 1925, Gandhi wrote in answer to a question why he had enlisted men for service in the World War: "As a citizen not then and not even now, a reformer leading an agitation against the institution of war, I had to advise and lead men who believed in war but who from cowardice, or from base motives or from anger against the British Government refrained from enlisting. I did not hesitate to advise them that so long as they believed in war and professed loyalty to the British constitution they were in duty bound to support it by enlistment. Though I do not believe in the use of arms, and though it is contrary to the religion of *Ahimsa* which I profess, I should not hesitate to join an agitation for a repeal of the debasing Arms Act which I have considered amongst the blackest crimes of the British Government against India. I do not believe in retaliation but I did not hesitate to tell the villagers of Bettiah four years ago that they who

knew nothing of *Ahimsa* were guilty of cowardice in failing to defend the honour of their women-folk and their property by force of arms. And I have not hesitated, as the correspondent should know, only recently to tell the Hindus that if they do not believe in out-and-out *Ahimsa* and cannot practise it, they will be guilty of a crime against their religion and humanity if they fail to defend by force of arms the honour of their women against any kidnapper who chooses to take away their women."

20 The instances where the non-violent resister gets killed or starved during the struggle are discussed in subsequent chapters. Also the cases where censorship hides or propaganda falsifies the report of events.

### CHAPTER III

1 W. H. H. Rivers, *Instinct and the Unconscious*, Cambridge University Press and Macmillan, New York, 1920, p. 93.

2 W. Trotter, *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War*, p. 82. Macmillan, London and New York, 1916.

3 See C. Baudouin, *Suggestion and Auto-Suggestion*, above cited. Also *ibid*, "Educating the Will," *Century Magazine*, New York, July, 1929.

4 Cf. T. Burrow, *The Social Basis of Consciousness*, Kegan Paul, London, and Harcourt Brace, New York, 1927.

5 At pp. 91-2 of his book above cited.

6 Edward Alsworth Ross, *Social Psychology*, Macmillan, New York, 1909, at pp. 120, 126, 130, 136. Cf. also Gabriel Tarde, *The Laws of Imitation*, Chap. 6,

Trans. by E. C. Parsons, Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1903.

7 At p. 30 *Autonomic Functions and the Personality*.

8 At p. 78.

9 Von Clausewitz *On War*. Trans. by Col. J. . Graham, Kegan Paul, London, 1911, E. P. Dutton, New York, 1914, Vol. I, p. 99.

10 Translated, Hugh Rees, Ltd., London, 1905, at p. 78.

11 Perhaps further light may be thrown on all this by further study of unconscious mental processes and their relation to the conscious. Cf. *The Psychology of Emotion* by John T. MacCurdy, Kegan Paul, London and Harcourt, Brace, New York, 1925.

12 Von Clausewitz says: "A hostile feeling is kindled by the combat itself; for an act of violence which anyone commits upon us by order of his superior will excite in us a desire to retaliate and be revenged on him, sooner than on the superior power at whose command the act was done. This is human, or animal if we will, still it is so. We are very apt to regard the combat in theory as an abstract trial of strength, without any participation on the part of the feelings and that is one of the thousand errors which theorists deliberately commit, because they do not see its consequences." *On War*, Kegan Paul, London, 1911; E. P. Dutton, New York, 1914, Vol. I, p. 102.

13 Cf. W. B. Pillsbury and C. L. Meade, *The Psychology of Language*, p. 6, D. Appleton & Co., New York and London, 1928. Also E. S. Bogardus, *Fundamentals of Social Psychology*, p. 114, Century Co., New York and London, 1924.

14 See C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards, *The Meaning of Meaning*, 2d. ed. rev. Kegan Paul, London;

Harcourt, Brace, New York, 1927, especially chapters on "Sign Situations" and "Symbol Situations." Also, I. A. Richards, *Principles of Literary Criticism*, Chap. 21, *ibid*, 1926.

15 This hypothesis of the non-violent resister may be compared with the various fruitful fictions described in *The Philosophy of 'As If,'* by H. Vaihinger, trans. by C. K. Ogden, Kegan Paul, London, and Harcourt, Brace, New York, 1924.

15a Cf. *Religious Conversion* by Sante de Sanctis, Kegan Paul, London, and Harcourt, New York, 1927.

15b Cf. I. A. Richards, *Principles of Literary Criticism*, Harcourt, New York, and Kegan Paul, London.

16 W. H. R. Rivers, *Instinct and the Unconscious*, Cambridge University Press and Macmillan, New York, 1920. Page 54.

17 Cf. Miss M. P. Follett, *Creative Experience*, p. 62, Longmans Green, New York, 1924; cf. also E. B. Holt, *Ethics of the Freudian Wish*, Holt & Co., New York, 1915, Chap. 3; also his *Concept of Consciousness*.

18 Longmans Green, New York, 1924, p. 157 *et seq.*

19 See page 171 of Miss Follett's book.

## CHAPTER IV

1 Cf. John Dewey, "Force and Coercion," 26 *International Journal of Ethics*, pp. 360-7, April, 1916.

2 Cf. Crile and Hocking previously cited.

3 See W. M. Marston, *Emotions of Normal People*, Kegan Paul, London, and Harcourt, Brace, New York, 1928, Chap. 17.

4 *Mechanisms of Character Formation*, Macmillan, New York, 1916, p. 274. See also pp. 73 and 278.

5 I do not mean to assert that all psychological repression is harmful. For example, temporary self-repression is involved in all training and discipline and probably acts to provide, as it were, a certain pressure of energy which is useful in carving out new channels of action in the direction marked out by the training.

6 Cf. Marston, above cited, pp. 160-9, Chap. 13, and pp. 377-9.

7 Goethe.

8 See p. 125, chapter on Habit in his *Principles of Psychology*, Vol. I, Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1893.

9 Cf. *India and the Simon Report*, by C. F. Andrews, Allen & Unwin, London, and Macmillan, New York, 1930.

10 At pp. 188-91.

11 W. Trotter in his *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War*, Macmillan, London and New York, 1916, pp. 125, 123.

## CHAPTER V

1 Cf. A. F. Shand, *The Foundation of Character*, Macmillan Co., London and New York, 1914, at pp. 214, 216-7, 250, and Chap. 3, Sec. I. Also E. J. Kempf, *The Autonomic Functions and the Personality*, Nervous and Mental Disease Publ. Co., New York and Washington, D. C. 1921, pp. 79, 80, 82.

Cf. in accord the "dominance-compliance" concept in *Emotions of Normal People*, Wm. M. Morston, International Library of Psychology, Philosophy and

Scientific Method, Kegan Paul, London, and Harcourt, Brace, New York, 1928; and in *Integrative Psychology* by W. M. Marston, C. D. King and E. H. Marston, same publishers, 1931.

2 Kempf, above cited.

3 Cf. also G. W. Crile, *Origin and Nature of the Emotions*, W. B. Saunders Co., Philadelphia, 1915. This common basis or origin of fear and anger may be one reason why it is impossible to make a valid distinction between aggressive and defensive war nowadays. Cf. W. L. Crane, *The Passing of War*, Macmillan, London, 1912; C. C. Morrison, *The Outlawry of War*, Willett, Clark & Colby, Chicago, 1927.

4 Cf. Doubts and Queries chapter.

5 I. P. Pavlov, *Lectures on Conditioned Reflexes*, International Publishers, New York, 1928.

6 J. B. Watson, "Heart or the Intellect"—*Harper's Monthly Magazine*, Feb. 1926; also J. B. Watson, *Behaviourism*, Peoples' Institute Publishing Co., New York, 1925.

7 "The Motives of the Soldier," by T. H. Proctor, 31 *International Journal of Ethics* 26, at p. 36. (Oct. 1920.)

8 Lt.-Col. L. C. Andrews, *Military Manpower*, E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 120, p. 17.

9. Foch. *Principles of War*, American ed., H. K. Fly Co., New York, 1918, p. 99.

10. Cf. William James' chapter on Habit, in his *Principles of Psychology*.

11 Sir George Lloyd, at that time Governor of the Bombay Presidency, in an interview with Mr. Drew Pearson, is reported to have said:



"He gave us a scare! His programme filled our jails. You can't go on arresting people for ever, you know—not when there are 319,000,000 of them. And if they had taken his next step and refused to pay taxes! God knows where we would have been.

"Gandhi's was the most colossal experiment in world history; and it came within an inch of succeeding. But he couldn't control men's passions. They became violent and he called off his programme." Quoted from article by C. F. Andrews, "The Coming Crisis in India," in the *New Republic*, New York, April 3, 1929.

12 Cf. Ernest Toller, *Man and the Masses* (Masse-mensch) trans. by L. Untermeyer, Doubleday, Page & Co., New York, 1924.

13 "Passive resistance, if it were adopted deliberately by the will of the whole nation, with the same measure of courage and discipline which is now displayed, might achieve a far more perfect protection for what is good in national life than armies and navies can ever achieve, without demanding the carnage and waste and welter of brutality involved in modern war." B. Russel, "War and Non-Resistance," 116 *Atlantic Monthly* 266 (Aug. 1915), Boston, U. S. A., reprinted in his book *Justice in War Time*, Allen & Unwin, London, Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago, 1924.

14 See article on Hormones in 14th edition of *Encyclopedia Britannica*; also *The Homeopathic Principle in Therapeutics*, by T. H. McGavack, p. 179, Boericke & Tafel, Philadelphia, U.S.A., 1932.

15 The reasoning of Chapters II to V inclusive is not invalidated by *Gestalt* psychology, even though that interpretation of psychology does not use the concept of instincts. *Gestalt* psychology strongly supports the

idea of the part which repetition of stimuli plays in the method of non-violent resistance, and also the belief that anger can eventually be eliminated without psychological or physiological injury. See R. H. Wheeler, *Laws of Human Behaviour*, Cambridge University Press, London, and Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1932; also his *Science of Psychology*, T. F. Crowell Co., New York, 1929.

## CHAPTER VI

1 In his book *The Principles of War*, American ed. trans. by Major J. de Morinni, H. K. Fly Co., New York, 1918, at p. 316 (reference is to pages in American ed.); English ed. trans. by H. Belloc; French ed. Berger-Levrault, Paris, 1917.

2 Sir Ian Hamilton, *The Soul and Body of the Army*, p. 134, Edw. Arnold, London, 1921.

3 Lt.-General von Caemmerer, *The Development of Strategical Science*, trans. Publ. by Hugh Rees, Ltd., London, 1905.

4 Major-General Sir F. Maurice, *British Strategy*, p. 67, above cited.

5 *The Real War*, by Captain B. H. Liddell Hart, p. 506, Faber & Faber, London; Little, Brown, Boston, 1930.

6 W. E. Hocking, *Morale and Its Enemies*, Yale University Press, New Haven, U.S.A., 1918, p. 151.

7 See Hocking, *Morale and Its Enemies*; F. C. Bartlett, *Psychology and the Soldier*, Cambridge University Press, 1927; Lieut.-Col. L. C. Andrews,

*Military Manpower* (Psychology of Military Training), E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1920; H. G. Lord, *The Psychology of Courage*, Luce & Co., Boston, Mass., 1918; Sir Ian Hamilton, *The Soul and Body of the Army*, Edward Arnold, London, 1921. Also an article by Bt. Lieut.-Col. L. V. Bond, R. E. General Staff, on "The Principles of Field Service Regulations" in the *Journal of the United Service Institution of India* for July, 1921, Simla, India.

8 For the moment we will defer the case of a massacre due to the commander of the troops losing his head or using undue terrorism. That will be discussed later.

9 Rivers, *Instinct and the Unconscious*, p. 219, also 211-12. During the War, Rivers was on the staff of a British hospital for treating shellshock and other nervous diseases of soldiers.

10 Von Clausewitz, *On War*, trans. by Col. J. J. Graham, Kegan Paul, London, 1911, E. P. Dutton, New York, 1914, Vol. I. p. 99; Von Caemmerer, *Development of Strategical Science*, trans. Hugh Rees, Ltd., London, 1905, at p. 78.

11 T. H. Proctor, "The Motives of the Soldier," 31 *International Journal of Ethics*, p. 26 (Oct., 1920). In accord see Rivers, *Instinct and the Unconscious*, pp. 210, 211, 313.

12 H. C. Lord, *The Psychology of Courage*, p. 150, above cited.

13 Hocking, *Morale and its Enemies*, p. 99, previously cited.

14 *Military Manpower*, p. 175, above cited.

15 F. C. Bartlett, *Psychology and the Soldier*, Cambridge University Press, 1927, pp. 172-5; Hocking, *Morale and its Enemies*, p. 159, previously cited.

16 Cf. the near mutiny of English soldiers occupying the Ruhr after the war but while the starvation blockade of Germany was still in effect.

17 Cf. the conclusions of Sir F. Maurice as to the undesirability of gas war and bombing civilians from aeroplanes, in his *British Strategy*, Chap. 9, above cited. Cf. also a letter on "Police of the Air," by A. T. Wilson in the *London Times*, May 7, 1930. An article by Hoffman Nickerson in the *New York Times* for February 21, 1932, contains the following pertinent passages: "Frightfulness, unless it prove an immediate and overwhelming success, has shown itself the worst sort of boomerang. . . . It is true that when one is dealing with barbarians or helpless Chinese the political disadvantages of frightfulness are less. But even when it is employed against barbarians the disadvantages are there. The great French Marshal Lyautey, the conqueror and organiser of Morocco, strictly limited the use of the airplane against the natives. In the long run, he said, he wanted them willingly to consent to French rule. *Want of Discrimination*.—Bombing of villages from the air hindered rather than helped his purpose because the airplane bomb is an indiscriminating weapon which might injure the best friends of the French in any given village. Furthermore, the Moroccans, having no planes themselves, thought their use unsportsmanlike. Lyautey therefore insisted that beating them in what they consider a fairer fashion was more apt to persuade them to peace and contentment." Reprinted in his book *Can we Limit War?* Chap. 9, F. A. Stokes Co., New York, 1934.

18 In an article called "Armament and its Future Uses," in the *Yale Review* (New Haven), for July, 1930, at p. 652.

19 Gandhi's visit to London for the Second Round Table Conference may prove to have been a disturbance to the previous solidity of British opinion and purpose in relation to India.

20 At pp. 448, 378 of Shand's book, cited in Chap. II.

20a Cf. the Indian hunter who taught his son always to make a warning noise just before shooting at game, saying, "When you give warning you have asserted the superiority of your nerves over your adversary's, and that is half the battle won." *Hari, the Jungle Lad*, by D. G. Mukerji, E. P. Dutton, New York.

21 "Chivalry, in the broadest sense of the word, is the cultivation of respect in an enemy for or by his opponent. . . . The side which, in war, first attains a superiority in chivalry is the side which attains a spiritual victory over its enemy, a victory which normally not only precedes a material success but which wins the ethical objective of war, which is the true foundation of the peace which follows it. . . . As the military object of war is to defeat the enemy, and as the economic object is to add to the prosperity of the nation, so is the ethical object to enhance the national character, that is, to increase its respect in the eyes not only of the enemy, but of neutral nations. A man who fights cleanly is always applauded even if he lose; consequently, under certain circumstances, it is even more important to win the ethical objective than the military one." pp. 70 and 64 of Col. J. F. C. Fuller's *Reformation of War*, Hutchinson & Co., London, 1923, and E. P. Dutton & Co., New York.

21a Just after his release from prison on May 8, 1933, at the beginning of his twenty-one day fast, Gandhi

was reported by the Press to have said, in reference to the decline in effectiveness of the civil disobedience movement at that time: "I have nothing but praise for the bravery and self-sacrifice of the numerous civil resisters, but having said that, I cannot help saying that the secrecy that has attended the movement is fatal to its success. If, therefore, the movement must be continued, I would urge those who are guiding the movement in different parts of the country to discard all secrecy. I do not care if thereby it becomes difficult to secure a single civil resister. There can be no doubt that fear has seized the common mass. The Ordinances have cowed them down and I am inclined to think that the secret methods are largely responsible."

Again, in his long statement of reasons for the renewal of individual civil disobedience, issued at Ahmedabad on July 27, 1933, Gandhi is reported to have said in regard to secret methods: "There is nothing inherently wrong in them. I fully admit the purity of purpose and the great cleverness of the workers in conducting the campaign of secret methods, devised to meet the situation created by repressive measures of Government. But secrecy is repugnant to Satyagraha and hampers its progress. It has undoubtedly contributed in a great measure to the present demoralisation of the people. I know that a ban on 'secrecy' will stop some of the activities which appear to keep the Congress before the public eye. But this doubtful benefit will be outweighed by the certain elimination of a method which is foreign to the spirit of Satyagraha and which interferes with its efficiency."

22 See Col. Fuller's book, above cited, at p. 95.

23 See *Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards, an Essay in Comparative Psychology*, by Salvador de Madariaga, pp. 27 and 58, Oxford University press, London, 1928.

24 Cf. "The Motives of the Soldier," by T. H. Proctor, 31 *Int. f. of Ethics* 26, at p. 34, Oct., 1920.

25 Salvador de Madariaga, *Disarmament*, p. 60, Oxford University Press, London, 1929, Coward-McCann Inc., New York.

26 *The Reformation of War*, by Col. J. F. C. Fuller, D. S. O., p. 46, above cited.

27 Cf. C. F. Andrews, *India and the Simon Commission*, Macmillan, 1930.

28 Von Clausewitz, *On War*, Vol. III, p. 209.

29 See A. Ponsonby, *Falsehood in Wartime*, E. P. Dutton, New York, 1928; Irene Cooper Willis, *England's Holy War*, A. Knopf, New York, 1928; Caroline E. Playne, *Society at War*, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1931; Will Irwin, "The Art of Muddlement," *Scribner's Magazine*, New York, Oct., 1929.

30 See Robert Hunter, *Violence and the Labour Movement*, pp. 110-120, Macmillan, New York, 1914.

31 See Chapter XI, and its note 15.

## CHAPTER VII

1 The Irish poet, George Russell (AE), in his book *The National Being* (Macmillan, 1916, p. 127) says: "We must admit that military genius has discovered and applied with mastery a law of life which is of the utmost importance to civilization—far more important to civil even than to military development—and that is the means by which the individual will forget his personal danger and sacrifice life itself for the general welfare."

In no other organisation will men in great masses so entirely forget themselves as men will in battle under military discipline. . . . The military discipline works miracles."

2 *Atlantic Monthly*, Boston, for August, 1928, quotations are from pp. 181 and 182. Captain B. H. Liddell Hart, the British writer on military strategy, says that to prepare for peace you must understand war.

3 See article on "Air Power," by A. A. Walser, in *The Nineteenth Century and After* for April, 1923, p. 598.

4 See also the *British Field Service Regulations*, part 11. But cf. criticisms of Foch on this point in *Foch: The Man of Orleans*, by Captain B. H. Liddell Hart, Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1931; Little, Brown, Boston, U. S. A., 1932.

5 See Foch, *Principles of War* previously cited, p. 318.

If any readers feel that in what follows I am guilty of repetition, let me quote the words of a famous teacher of the piano, Tobias Matthay: "While reiteration may be resented by the casual reader, it is imperative for the true student. It is only by repetition of the same point under various aspects that facts are eventually brought home and grasped, and the vision of the whole not lost sight of in pursuit of the details of the structure. A genius may not need such treatment; he may see things in a flash of intelligence. . . . A work of the present nature, however, is designed as an endeavour to help the ordinary worker and seeker after truth; the genius, himself, may also save years of time and feel surer of his ground by taking the trouble to master the facts thus intellectually, as well as by intuition." *The Visible and Invisible: An Epitome of the*



*Laws of Pianoforte Technique*, Oxford University Press, London.

6 Von Clausewitz, *On War*, previously cited, Vol. III, p. 210. Captain B. H. Liddell Hart writes that it is "the experience of all history that, except against an exhausted or already demoralised foe, decisive success in war is only possible through surprise," *The Real War*, p. 466, Faber & Faber, London; Little, Brown, Boston, 1930. See also *Nelson's Letters and Dispatches*, Vol. IV, p. 295, Letter of March 24, 1801. Also the prize essay of the Royal United Service Institution for 1928, by Lieut.-Commander J. D. Prentice, *Journal of Royal United Service Institution*, May, 1929, Whitehall, London, pp. 235, 237, 239.

7 Napoleon's *Maxims of War*, Maxim XVI.

8 Sir Ian Hamilton, *The Soul and Body of the Army*, p. 134, Edward Arnold, London, 1921.

9 Cf. Chaps. II to IV.

10 See his *Principles of War*, p. 316.

10a A British psychologist argues that the fundamental reasons for war are sadism and masochism, and that until somehow those allegedly deep-seated urges are modified war cannot be ended. If we were to take his argument at its face value, I would say that in so far as sadism and masochism are perverted expressions of a desire for power, non-violent resistance can control them by substituting its own method of securing a power that is greater and more satisfying. The energy and unifying power of the method will also sublimate and straighten out the other perversions involved in sadism and masochism, as will be apparent when our argument is completed. See *War, Sadism and Pacifism*, by Edward Glover, Allen & Unwin, London, 1933.

11 *Principles of War*, p. 32.

## CHAPTER VIII

1 In the light of what we now know, *Reflections on Violence*, by the syndicalist Georges Sorel (translation published in New York, 1912), seems too cloudy and confused to be worth reading.

2 Perhaps the most vigorous and searching criticisms of pacifism in Lenin's writings and speeches are to be found in the following essays: "The State and Revolution" (1917), pp. 21-3, 93-4, published by the Socialist Labour Party of Great Britain, and the Communist Party of Great Britain, London, by the Marxian Educational Society, Detroit, U. S. A., and by International Publishers Co., New York City. The page references are to the Detroit edition; "Armaments and War," pages 137-41 of *The Proletarian Revolution in Russia*, by N. Lenin and L. Trotsky, ed. by L. C. Fraina, The Communist Press, New York, 1918; "The Causes of the World War," a speech made Aug. 23, 1918, printed in *Voices of Revolt*, V. I. Lenin, International Publishers, New York, 1928; and a paper in *The Social Democrat*, No. 33, Nov. 1, 1914, Vol. XVIII of Lenin's Works, same publisher. Further quotations from him and illuminating description and comment on this topic will be found in the following biographies: *Lenin*, by L. Trotsky, Minton Balch, New York, 1925; *Lenin*, by A. Rhys-Williams, Scott & Seltzer, New York, 1919, now published by Albert and Charles Boni, Inc., New York; *Lenin and Gandhi*, by Rene Fulop-Miller, G. P. Putmans Sons, London and New York, 1927.

Trotsky's brilliant and slashing analytical attacks are best in his *Defence of Terrorism*, Allen & Unwin, London, 1921; published in America under the title of *Dictatorship vs. Democracy*, by the Workers Party of America, New York, 1922; *Where is Britain Going*, Chapter 5, Allen & Unwin, London, 1928; and his essay on "Democracy, Pacifism and Imperialism," in *The Proletarian Revolution in Russia*, edited by L. C. Fraina, above cited.

3 P. 123, *Lenin and Gandhi*, cited above.

4 *Loc. cit.* pp. 137, 138.

5 See p. 16 of *Lenin: A Biography*, by Ralph Fox, Victor Gollancz Ltd., London, 1933.

6 P. 94. The quotation by Lenin is taken from a letter by Engels to Bebel.

7 See Salvador de Madariaga, *Disarmament*, p. 58. Coward-McCann, Inc., New York, 1929; also London; G. W. Crile, *A Mechanistic View of War and Peace*, pp. 95-7, Macmillan. New York, 1915; W. M. Urban, "Is Mankind Worthy of Peace?" 27 *Int. J. of Ethics*, 293, at 302; Col. J. F. C. Fuller, *The Reformation of War*, p. 69 previously cited; Admiral A. T. Mahan, *Armaments and Arbitration*, Harper & Bros., New York and London, 1912, pp. 110, 113; G. R. Stirling-Taylor, "Some Anti-Militarist Fallacies," *The Nineteenth Century*, London, May, 1923; William James, "The Moral Equivalent of War," in his *Memories and Studies*, Longmans Green, London and New York, 1911; John Gunther, "The High Cost of Hoodlums," *Harpers Magazine* Oct., 1929, New York; P. G. Duffy, "War and the Christian Ethic," 27 *Int. J. of Ethics* 217; W. Trotter, *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War*, ed. of 1922, p. 239, Fisher Unwin, London; D. L. Sturzo, "The Modern Conscience and the Right of War," 25 *Hibbert Journal*, 583, July, 1927; *War*, by Scott Nearing, The Vanguard Press,

New York, 1931; G. G. Coulton, "Democracy and Compulsory Service," 15 *Hibbert J.* 204, at 210-11; G. W. K. Tarpey, "The Ethics of Intercourse," 17 *Hibbert J.* 391; R. M. Eaton, "Social Unrest and the Soldier," 31 *Int. J. of Ethics* 279; N. Lenin, *The State and Revolution*, published by the Socialist Labour Party of Great Britain and the Marxian Educational Society, Detroit, U. S. A.; T. Veblen, *Theory of Business Enterprise*, Scribner's, New York, 1915; *ibid.*, *The Nature of Peace*, Macmillan, New York, 1917; R. G. Hawtrey, *Economic Aspects of Sovereignty*, Longmans, New York and London, 1930; Maurice Colbourne, *Unemployment and War*, Coward-McCann, New York, 1928.

7a *Disarmament*, above cited.

8 14th ed. of *Encyclopedia Britannica*, article on Capitalism.

8a See *Political Power*, by Charles Edward Merriam, Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1934.

9 *British Strategy*, Constable & Co., London, p. 4.

10 John Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct*, p. 115, Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1922.

11 In regard to the attitude and spirit of capitalism see M. W. Sombart, *Quintessence of Capitalism*, Dutton, New York, 1915; R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, Murray, London, 1929 and Harcourt, Brace, New York.

11a From an essay by Lenin on "The position and Tasks of the Socialist International," printed originally in No. 33 of *The Social Democrat* of Nov. 1, 1914, and now published in the Works of Lenin, Vol. XVIII, p. 88, International Publishers Co., New York City.

12 Cf. pp. 83-5 and 129-32 of T. Burrow, *The Social Basis of Consciousness*, Kegan Paul, London, and Harcourt, Brace, New York, 1927.

13 In his "Laissez Faire and Communism," *The New Republic*, New York, p. 73, published in England as *The End of Laissez-Faire*," Hogarth Press, London, 1926, he defines the principle of capitalism as "the dependence upon an intense appeal to the money-making and money-loving instincts of individuals as the main motive of the economic machine."

14 Introduction by R. H. Tawney to *The Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism*, by Max Weber, trans. by T. Parsons, Allen & Unwin, London, 1930. Cf. also S. & B. Webb, *The Decay of Capitalist Civilization*, Allen & Unwin, 1823, and Karl Marx, *Capital*.

15 *The Freudian Wish*, H. Holt, New York, 1915.

15a Reported in the *Manchester Guardian* for February 25, 1933. H. Vaihinger wrote: "An original means working toward a definite end has the tendency to acquire independence and to become an end in itself." See his *Philosophy of 'As If'*, p. xxx, Kegan Paul, London, Harcourt, New York, 1924. At a recent meeting of the American Philosophical Association John Dewey said: "Every absolute dogmatism, whether upheld in the name of Karl Marx or of Mussolini, separates means from ends. It is not a question of the advisability or the morality of making the separation. The point is that it cannot be done. The kind of means used determines the kind of consequences actually reached—the ends, in the only sense in which 'ends' do not signify abstractions. You may set up ends that are intrinsically desirable, but what you actually get will depend upon the means you use to attain them." Reprinted in *People's Lobby Bulletin* for February, 1935, Washington, D. C., U. S. A.

16 *Dictatorship vs. Democracy*, American ed., p. 22, above cited.

17 Trotsky is exceedingly keen and witty in exposing the inconsistencies and cloudy thinking of most of the politician-pacifists of Europe and America, but he makes the mistake of most professional militarists in ascribing too much weight to violence itself and not enough to the indirect and wider psychological effects of violence. (Cf. Col. Fuller's *Reformation of War*, above cited.) Nor has he sufficiently examined the effect of non-violent resistance upon the morale of opponents. This oversight, I believe, greatly weakens, if it does not wholly invalidate, the argument in respect to violence in his book *Where is Britain Going*. It is strange because Trotsky himself made brilliant experiments with enemy morale in his Brest-Litovsk negotiations. Although these negotiations were not non-violent in spirit, they were in outer method, and were very effective so far as they went. The German general, von Hoffman, said of these negotiations: "It was Lenin and the Bolsheviks that broke our morale and gave us defeat and the revolution you now see ruining us." (See A. Rhys Williams, *Lenin*, p. 95, Boni, New York.) Count Czernin, the representative for Austria at Brest-Litovsk, called the negotiations a "spiritual wrestling match." (P. 553, Vol. II of General Ludendorff's *My War Memories*, 2nd ed. Hutchinson, London.)

18 The difficulties of violent revolution in a modern State are clearly described in *Communism*, by H. J. Laski, University Library Series, Williams & Norgate, London, 1928.

19 Cf. Napoleon's 16th maxim of war, p. 112 *supra*.

20 N. Lenin, *Why Soviet Russia Made Peace*, p. 357. Cf. *The Proletarian Revolution in Russia*, above cited.

21 *Dictatorship vs. Democracy*, American ed., p. 25, above cited.

22 Cf. *Gandhiism vs. Socialism*, by R. B. Gregg, The John Day Co., New York, 1932, an earlier draft of which was published as *Gandhiism and Socialism*, by Ganesan, Madras, 1931.

23 Trotsky reports that Lenin told H. G. Wells that "capitalism of to-day is incurably greedy and destructive and that it cannot be taught." P. 181 of *Lenin*, by Trotsky, above cited. And Trotsky wrote of his opponent Kautsky: "He will find in history no other way of breaking the class will of the enemy except the systematic and energetic use of violence." P. 55 of *Dictatorship vs. Democracy*, above cited. Also in the same chapter he wrote: "As long as class society, founded on the most deep-rooted antagonism, continues to exist, repression remains a necessary means of breaking the will of the opposing side."

24 Lenin, *Works*, Vol. V, p. 141, International Publishers Co., New York.

25 See limitation in Chapter XI.

26 Quotation from Bernard Shaw on pp. 295-6 of *Lenin and Gandhi*, above cited.

27 Quoted in *Russia in the Shadows*, by H. G. Wells, at p. 157, Doran, New York, 1921, also Hodder & Stoughton, London.

28 See *The Soviet Union and Peace*, Martin Lawrence, London, 1929.

28a See p. 338 of *British Agent*, by Bruce Lockhart, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London, 1933.

28b See "Laissez-Faire and Communism," p. 103, *The New Republic*, New York.

29 *Young India*, Jan. 29, 1925.

30 *Young India*, Dec. 1, 1920. Cf. also *Young India*, April 24, 1930.

31 See London *Spectator*, Aug. 2, 1930, article by Reginald Reynolds. In accord see Gandhi's statement before the Federal Structures Committee of the Second Round Table Conference in London on November 19, on the subject of discrimination, reprinted in *Young India* for Dec. 17, 1931, also in pp. 258-275 of *Gandhi vs. the Empire*, by H. T. Muzumdar, cited above in Chap. I. See also in accord Gandhi's answers to questions by Communists in India and in London, printed in *Young India* for Mar. 26 and Nov. 26, 1931.

32 *Young India*, Jan. 2, 1930.

33 *Young India*, 1919-1922, pp. 1124-9.

34 See M. K. Gandhi, *My Experiments with Truth*, Vol. II, Chaps. 20 and 22. Also *Young India*, 1919-1922, pp. 740-1; and *Young India*, 1924-1926, p. 952, both previously cited.

35 Cf. Chap. IX.

36 See Reinhold Niebuhr, *Moral Man and Immoral Society*, Scribner's, New York, 1932, pp. 170-4, 240-5.

37 See A. N. Whitehead, *Adventures of Ideas*, Macmillan, 1933, pp. 31, 53, 105-6, 205, 213-4, and all of Chap. 5.

38 H. N. Brailsford in *The World To-morrow*, New York, for Oct. 5, 1932.

39 See *Wealth, Virtual Wealth and Debt*, by Frederick Soddy, Chapters 1 and 2, Allen & Unwin, London, 1926.

40 See the subsequent Chapters XIII to XVI of this book, and my *Gandhiism vs. Socialism*, cited above in note 22.

41 See the subsequent Chapters XIII to XVI.



42 See the first three chapters of *The Coming Struggle for Power*, by John Strachey, Gollancz, London, and Covice-Friede, New York, 1932.

## CHAPTER IX

1 E. g., F. Oppenheimer, R. G. Hawtrey, Duguit, H. J. Laski, W. E. Hocking, G. B. Shaw, Spengler, Mommsen, Tolstoi, Veblen, John Dewey, von Clausewitz, Lenin, Admiral A. T. Mahan, Sigmund Freud, in his *Reflections on War and Death*, trans. by Brill and Kuttner, Moffat Yard, New York, 1918.

2 His reasons are more fully set forth in Chapters XIII and XIV.

3 Von Clausewitz wrote that "war is a part of political intercourse" and "war is only a continuation of State policy by other means," von Clausewitz *On War* previously cited, Vol. I, p. xxviii, and Vol. III, p. 121. De Madariaga agrees, saying, "The army and navy are but the military wing of the nation's diplomacy. In normal times the foreign secretary 'carries on the war. —Armaments appear to us as instruments of policy. They are indeed the most important instrument of policy, together with financial power." See his *Disarmament*, above cited, pp. 59, 60.

4 I am not here considering the police.

4a As to how it could be so used and why it would be effective, see B. Russell, "War and Non-resistance," 116 *Atlantic Monthly* 266 (August, 1915), Boston, U. S. A., reprinted in his book *Justice in War Time*, Allen & Unwin, London; Open Court Publ. Co., Chicago, 1924.

5 The great Indian philosopher, Aurobindo Ghose, in his book *War and Self-Determination* (publ. by S. Ghose, Calcutta, 1922), writes :

"So long as war does not become psychologically impossible, it will remain, or, if banished for a while, return. War itself, it is hoped, will end war; the expense, the horror, the butchery, the disturbance of tranquil life, the whole confused sanguinary madness of the thing has reached or will reach such colossal proportions that the human race will fling the monstrosity behind it in weariness and disgust. But weariness and disgust, horror and pity, even the opening of the eyes to reason by the practical facts of the waste of human life and energy and the harm and extravagance are not permanent factors; they last only while the lesson is fresh. Afterwards, there is forgetfulness; human nature recuperates itself and recovers the instincts that were temporarily dominated. . . . War is no longer, perhaps, a biological necessity, but it is still a psychological necessity; what is within must manifest itself outside.

" . . . Only when man has developed not merely a fellow-feeling with all men but a dominant sense of unity and commonalty, only when he is aware of them not merely as brothers,—that is a fragile bond,—but as parts of himself, only when he has learned to live, not in his separate personal and communal ego-sense, but in a large universal consciousness, can the phenomenon of war, with whatever weapons, pass out of his life without the possibility of return."

This opinion is in substance echoed by Bertrand Russell. He writes in an article, "What

I Believe," in the *Forum* (New York) for Sept., 1929 :

"The supposed economic causes of war, except in the case of certain capitalistic enterprises, are in the nature of a rationalisation; people wish to fight, and they therefore persuade themselves that it is to their interest to do so. The important question, then, is the psychological one, 'Why do people wish to fight?' And this leads on from war to a host of other questions concerning impulses to cruelty and oppression in general. These questions in their turn involve a study of the origins of the malevolent passions, and thence of psycho-analysis and the theory of education. . . .

"The basis of international anarchy is man's proneness to fear and hatred. This is also the basis of economic disputes; for the love of power, which is at their root, is generally an embodiment of fear."

6 Cf. Wm. McDougal, *Janus, or the Future of War*, Kegan Paul, London, and E. P. Dutton, New York, 1927. Also Major Sherman Miles, "The Problem of the Pacifist," 217 *North American Review* 313, March, 1923.

7 Reinhold Niebuhr, "A Critique of Pacifism," 139 *Atlantic Monthly* 637, May, 1927, Boston, U. S. A.

8 In his "Democracy, Pacifism and Imperialism," pp. 196, 197 of *The Proletarian Revolution in Russia*, by N. Lenin and L. Trotsky, ed. by L. Fraina, The Communist Press, New York, 1918.

9 See *The Soviet Union and Peace*, Martin Lawrence, Ltd., London, 1929.

10 De Madariaga, *Disarmament*, pp. 42, 45, 48, 56, 61, 198. But this need not mean a super-State with

supremely powerful armed forces. As soon as one nation organises itself for non-violent resistance and wins an international struggle by those tactics, there will be imitators, and our present international relationships will change completely.

11 See "Diversification of Crops," by C. Y. Shepard, Vol. II, No. 5, *Tropical Agriculture*, Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, St. Augustine, Trinidad, B. W. I.

12 *Land Tenure and Unemployment*, Frank Geary, Allen & Unwin, London, 1925.

13 Cf. H. J. Laski, "Aristocracy Still the Ruling Class in England," *Current History*, New York, July, 1930; Lord Passfield, "What Happened in 1931," *The Political Quarterly*, London, Jan.-Mar., 1932.

13a See *Political Power*, by Charles Edward Merriam, Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1934.

14 See *English Prisons under Local Government*, by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Longmans Green, London, 1927; *English Prisons To-day—Being a Report of the Prison System Enquiry Committee*, edited by S. Hobhouse and A. F. Brockway, Longmans Green, London, 1922; *Penology in the United States*, by L. N. Robinson, J. C. Winston Co., Philadelphia, 1923; *Probation and Delinquency*, by E. J. Cooley, Nelson, New York, 1927; T. M. Osborne, *Society and Prisons*, Yale University Press, 1916; *ibid.*, *Prisons and Common Sense*, 1924; G. B. Shaw, *Imprisonment*, Brentano, New York, 1925, now by Dodd, Mead & Co., New York (a reprint of his introduction to *English Prisons under Local Government*, *supra*); Frank Tannenbaum, *Wall Shadows*, Putnams, New York, 1922; Wm. Healy, *The Individual Delinquent*, 1915, New York; Donald Lowness, *My Life in Prison*; Al Jennings, *Through the Shadows with O.*

*Henry*; F. R. Johnson, *Probation for Juveniles and Adults*; G. Godwin, *Cain or the Future of Crime*, Kegan Paul, London, and E. P. Dutton, New York, 1929; Handbook of American prisons, 1926, Putnams, New York; J. O. Stutzman, *Curing the Criminal*, Macmillan, New York, 1926; F. C. Bartlett, *Psychology and the Soldier*, Cambridge University Press, 1927, p. 124; R. N. Baldwin, *Pacifism and the Criminal*, in D. Allen's *Pacifism in the Modern World*, Doubleday Doran, New York, 1929; L. E. Lawes, *Life and Death in Sing Sing*, Doubleday, Doran & Co., New York and London, 1929; Margaret Wilson, *The Crime of Punishment*, Jonathan Cape, London, Harcourt Brace, New York, 1931; Clarence Darrow, *Resist Not Evil*, Haldman-Julius, Girard, Kansas, U. S. A.; *Kropotkin's Revolutionary Pamphlets*, ed. by R. N. Baldwin, Vangurd Press, New York, 1927; *The Morality of Punishment*, by A. C. Ewing, Kegan Paul, London, 1929; *The Death Penalty Enquiry*, A Review of the Evidence before the Select Committee on Capital Punishment, by E. Roy Calvert, Gollancz, London, 1929; *Taming the Criminal*, by John Lewis Gillin, Macmillan, New York, 1931.

One of the ablest brief statements of the whole problem is G. B. Shaw's *Imprisonment* cited above. It dodges none of the hard facts, indulges in no sentiment, is inclusive in scope, is short, courageous and cogent. He has studied the subject very thoroughly as a member of the British Prison System Enquiry Committee. His statement is so clear and compact that I cannot forbear quoting two paragraphs from his recapitulation :

" 3. The prison authorities profess three objects : (a) retribution (a euphemism for vengeance), (b) deterrence (a euphemism for terrorism), and (c) reform of the prisoner. They achieve the first by simple atrocity.

They fail in the second through lack of the necessary certainty of detection, prosecution and conviction; partly because their methods are too cruel and mischievous to secure the co-operation of the public; partly because the prosecutor is put to serious inconvenience and loss of time; partly because most people desire to avoid an unquestionable family disgrace much more than to secure a very questionable justice; and partly because the proportion of avowedly undetected crimes is high enough to hold out reasonable hopes to the criminal that he will never be called to account. The third (reform) is irreconcilable with the first (retribution); for the figures of recidivism and the discovery that the so-called Criminal Type is really a prison type, prove that the retribution process is one of uncompensated deterioration.

"4. The cardinal vice of the system is the anti-Christian vice of vengeance, or the intentional duplication of malicious injuries partly in pure spite, partly in compliance with the expiatory superstition that two blacks make a white. The criminal accepts this, but claims that punishment absolves him if the injuries are equivalent, and still more if he has the worse of the bargain, as he almost always has. Consequently, when absolution on his release is necessarily denied him, and he is forced back into crime by the refusal to employ him, he feels that he is entitled to revenge this injustice by becoming an enemy of society. . . ."

(Recidivism means criminals returning to jail for subsequent offences. By the phrase "prison type" Shaw means a type created by the prison environment.)

Shaw also remarks, "The effect of revenge, or retribution from without, is to destroy the conscience of the aggressor instantly."

15 See *The Defective, Delinquent and Insane*, by Henry A. Cotton, M. D., and his 1933 report as Medical

Director and Director of Research of the New Jersey State Hospital. See also *Biochemistry and Mental Phenomena*, by Joseph Needham, an Appendix in *The Creator Spirit*, by C. F. Raven, Martin Hopkinson, London, 1927, pp. 296-9.

16 Perhaps even psychiatry itself needs reform for this purpose. See T. Burrow, *The Social Basis of Consciousness*, previously cited.

17 See E. Richards, "The Test of Faith," 131 *Atlantic Monthly* 617; *The Arm of God*, Oliphants, Ltd., London, pp. 56, 142-51, 159. It is interesting to recall that Christ used non-violent methods when he dealt with an insane boy.

18 Cf. the conduct of the Abbe toward the thief in Victor Hugo's *Les Miserables*. See also Chap. XIII, in this book.

19 See collection of Gandhi's writings entitled *Young India*, 1919-22, pp. 1116, 1117, 1118, 1120,-2 1125, Ganesan, Madras, also B. W. Huebsch, New York. Also the article "Some Rules of Satyagraha" in his paper *Young India* for February 27, 1930.

## CHAPTER X

1 For instance, W. E. Hocking, *Human Nature and its Remaking*, Yale University Press, 1923; *ibid.*, *Man and the State*; *ibid.*, 1926; H. J. Laski, *Authority in the Modern State*, Yale University Press, 1919; *ibid.*, *A Grammar of Politics*, London, 1927; M. P. Follett, *The New State*, Longmans Green, New York, 1918; *ibid.*, *Creative Experience*, *ibid.*, 1924; L. T. Hobhouse, *The Metaphysical Theory of the State*, Allen & Unwin,

London, 1918; T. Veblen, *The Nature of Peace*; G. D. H. Cole, *Social Theory*, Methuen, London; Nietzsche's Works (consult index thereto); H. D. Thoreau, *Virtue of Civil Disobedience and Life Without Principle*; F. Oppenheimer, *The State*, Vanguard Press, New York; P. Kropotkin, *The State, its Historic Role*; J. W. Graham, *Conscription and Conscience*, Allen & Unwin, London, 1922; N. Thomas, *Is Conscience a Crime?* Vanguard Press, New York, 1927; R. M. Mac-Iver *The Modern State*, Oxford University Press, 1928; Philip S. Belasco, *Authority in Church and State*, Allen & Unwin, London, 1928; K. C. Hsiau, *Political Pluralism*, Kegan Paul, London, and Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1927.

2 In order that the reader may understand a little more clearly why this should be so, let us quote a brief passage from W. E. Hocking's *Human Nature and its Remaking* (Revised ed., pp. 122-3, Yale University Press, 1923):

"... For conscience is the principal inner agency for the remaking of human nature; hence it must stand as a critic against everything that is to be remade, and so over against all instincts. . . .

"My own view is that conscience stands outside the instinctive life of man, not as something separate, but as an *awareness of the success or failure of that life in maintaining its status and its growth*. It is a safeguard of the power at any time achieved. It interposes a check when an act is proposed which threatens 'integrity.' What conscience recognises is that certain behaviour increases our hold, constitutes what the old Southern Buddhist called an *asara*, a leak. The remark of conscience is: 'That course, or that act, promises to build, or threatens to tear down, what you



metaphysically are' . . . (Conscience) is not an instinct. It is the latest and finest instrument for the self-integration of instinct."

3 Inasmuch as war is only the end result of deep, subtle and wide-spread mistakes such as we have outlined in part in Chaps. II, III, IV, V and VIII, and will set forth more fully in Chaps. XII, XIII and XIV, all non-violent resisters should be very careful at all times to go much deeper and wider and more carefully than mere opposition to war. In this connection cf. also Chaps. XV and XVI.

4 R. B. Perry, *The Free Man and the Soldier*, Scribner's, New York, 1916, pp. 36,37; Major Walter G. Kellogg, *The Conscientious Objector*, Boni and Liveright, New York, 1919, p. 122.

5 *The Early Christian Attitude to War*, by C. J. Cadoux, Headley Bros., 1919, now by Swarthmore Press, London.

6 *Thoreau—Philosopher of Freedom*, writings selected by James Mackaye, Vanguard Press, New York, 1930.

7 In accord see General von Seeckt, "The Army of the Future," *Revue de Geneve*, 1929, trans. in *The Living Age*, New York, November 1, 1929; cf. Captain B. H. Liddell Hart, "Contrasts of 1921; Mobility or Stagnation," *Army Quarterly*, January, 1932, London.

8 More of the reproaches that have been hurled against conscientious objectors will be considered in Chap. XII.

8a See *Political Power*, by Charles Edward Merriam, Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1934.

9 *Indian Social Reformer*, July 1930, Bombay.

10 Cf. *India and the Simon Report*, Chaps. V to X, by C. F. Andrews, Macmillan, New York, 1930.

10a Everett Dean Martin, *Behaviour of Crowds*, Harpers, New York, 1920, now published by W. W. Norton & Co., New York.

10b See Chap. VI.

10c See preface to Reinhold Niebuhr, *Moral Man and Immoral Society*, Scribner's, New York, 1932.

11 Cf. Chap. VI.

12 *Young India*, March 27, 1930. See also *Young India* for February 6 and 20, and April 10, 1930, and indeed all during the winter and spring of 1930.

13 For further discussion see oral evidence of Mr. Gandhi before the Hunter Committee, published in *Young India*, November 5, 1919, and reproduced in pp. 16-45 of *Young India*, published by B. W. Huebsch (now the Viking Press), New York, 1923.

14 See *Bombay Chronicle*, July 14, 1930.

15 In the Paris edition of the *New York Herald-Tribune*, August 3, 1830.

16 See Mr. H. N. Brailsford, in India during the late autumn of 1930, in his book, *Rebel India*, London, and *New Republic*, New York, 1931. Also in sundry articles appearing in 1931 in various British journals, including *The Nation and Atheneum*, *The Manchester Guardian*, and *The New Leader*. Father Verrier Elwin was in India during the entire struggle of 1930-31. See Winslow and Elwin, *Gandhi, the Dawn of Indian Freedom*, p. 152, Fleming H. Revell Co., New York, 1931; published in England as *The Dawn of Indian Freedom* by Allen & Unwin, London. The Conservative Press correspondent, Mr. E. Ashmead Bartlett, admitted non-violence by Indians in several incidents he saw. See *London Daily Telegraph* for May 21 and June 23, 1930. The correspondent in India of the *London Spectator* said in a letter dated Delhi, March 12, 1932,

printed in the *Spectator*, London, of April 2: "Nevertheless, within limits, the creed of non-violence obtains." American eye-witnesses who agree with the above statements include Mr. Charles Dailey, Special Correspondent of the *Chicago Daily Tribune* (see *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 20, 1930), Mr. Negley Farson of the *Chicago Daily News* (see *Chicago Daily News* of July 24, 1930), and Mr. Webb Miller, of the *United Press* (see *New York Telegram* of about June 22, 1930). Other well-known Englishmen who have admitted this as a fact are Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, in the *Nineteenth Century and After*, London, for December, 1930, and Mr. Stephen Gwynn, in the "Ebb and Flow" section of the *Fortnightly Review*, London, for October 1930. Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald's statement to the House of Commons when asking for adoption of the results of the first Round Table Conference, is also an implied admission of this fact. See report in *New York Times*, January 27, 1931.

In regard to "terrorist crimes," Sir James Crerar, then the Home Member in the Indian Central Government, whose department is in charge of law and order, is reported to have stated that there were in all British India 19 "terrorist" crimes in 1929, 74 in 1930, and 118 in 1931. These crimes were murders, attempts to murder and apparent aims to kill Government officials of one rank or another. It is reported that at a meeting of the Viceroy's Council of State on February 25, 1932, Mr. H. W. Emerson, of the Home Department of the Government of India, told Mr. M. H. Kidwai that during the twelve months ending January 1932 there were in all British India 13 "terrorist" crimes with fatal results. So it seems that relatively few of these crimes involved loss of life. Some were merely discoveries of bombs which did not even explode or

injure anyone. (Cf. July, September and December 1931 issues of *The Round Table*, London.) These crimes and their increase were given as the chief reason for the imposition of the repressive Ordinances in Bengal in the autumn of 1931, which were also applied in other Provinces subsequently. Gandhi and the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress explicitly condemned all these crimes and urged strict non-violence at all times, and warned the people that violence did grave harm to their cause. I have seen no evidence that any of these crimes were committed by members of the Congress. I have no definite figures subsequently, but I believe there was no marked increase, except perhaps in the single Province of Bengal, and even there only *after* very severe repressive action by the police and soldiers. A considerable part of whatever increase in crimes other than those of political terrorism there may have been subsequent to January, 1932, was probably due to the Government's release of many hundreds and perhaps thousands of ordinary criminals before the end of their sentence terms in order to make room in the jails for political prisoners. Such releases were officially and publicly admitted. Perhaps some of whatever subsequent increase in political crimes there may have been was also due to this release of ordinary criminals.

That the Congress was not responsible for these political crimes was admitted by Sir Charles Tegart, recently Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, and now a member of the Council of India. The *London Times* of November 2, 1932, reporting a lecture by him in London, said :

"Sir Charles Tegart warned his hearers against any confusion between the civil disobedience and the terrorist movements. He said they were funda-

mentally different, though both aimed at paralysing the Government. Civil disobedience which was run by the National Congress was an All-India movement intended by the authors to be non-violent. It courted publicity, and it relied on mass demonstrations and picketing, its followers were mostly illiterate.. Terrorism had different leaders, though they had penetrated the Congress machine in Bengal. The rank and file were generally students. Its network was happily not spread all over India; it relied for its efficacy on secrecy; it burrowed underground, there was no outward sign of it. It emerged and struck its victims suddenly and again disappeared from view. While participants in civil disobedience underwent open trial in the Courts, it was impossible to deal with terrorism as a whole by trial."

Bad as these terrorist crimes have been, we must retain a sense of proportion even here. It is difficult to get fully comparable figures for other countries. The report of the Police Department of New York City for 1930 states that during that year there were 268 arrests for assaulting a police officer, and in the year 1929 there were 239 such cases. In 1930 in New York City there were 19 police officers killed while in the performance of duty. The population of New York City is about 7 million; the population of British India (1921 census) about 247 million, or over thirty-five times greater. Thirty-five times 19 is 665, thirty-five times 239 is 8,365. That is, if the New York City rate of such crimes were applied to British India there would have been in 1929 in that country 8,365 assaults upon Government officials, and 665 actual murders of police or other Government officials (if "killed in performance of duty" in the New York figures means killed by human

agents). Again, in the city of Boston, Massachusetts (U.S.A.) in 1927 there were 24 assaults on police officers, and in 1928 there were 66. The population of British India is about 247 times that of Boston. Applying the same comparison, 247 times 66 is 16,549. Yet despite British distaste for American manners and morals, British men and women have travelled and lived in New York and Boston in those years without finding "chaos" present or being unduly apprehensive of their safety. It has not been necessary to suspend jury trial in New York or Boston. In short, the allegation that civil disobedience in India in 1930-31 caused a complete breakdown of public order is not supported by the facts.

Mr. Stephen Gwynn wrote in the *Fortnightly Review*, London, for December 1931: "While the Round Table Conference sits, murderous attacks on European officials occur. Yet considering the enormous area of territory, the vastness of population, and the spread of disaffection to the idea of foreign rule, one should be surprised rather at the fewness of these rather than their repetition. Gandhi's doctrine of non-violence must retain a considerable hold, even in his absence."

Aside from the number of such crimes, the determination of moral responsibility for them would require detached ethical and political judgment of the wisdom of the Government's policy over a term of years, and a vast amount of detailed information furnished by Nationalist Indians as well as by the Government in regard to the actual administration of laws and ordinances in the villages as well as in cities. In the absence of all this, any assertion that the civil disobedience campaign was responsible for such crimes as occurred in India is a matter of opinion in which bias has played a large part.

16a After their first year the viceregal ordinances in substance were, at the behest of the Government, enacted into law by pliant Indian legislatures, but the responsibility for their initiation, enactment and enforcement, both in their original and present form, rests upon the Government.

17 May, 1934.

18 Such as photographs, both cinemetograph and still, shown in the Press and moving picture "news reels" during 1930 and 1932 in the United States, careful reports of Indian Nationalist committees of inquiry, letters from other reliable British and Indian eye-witnesses, etc.

19 In regard to the struggle of 1920-21, see references in notes to Chapter I.

20 Quoted from my *Gandhiism versus Socialism*, The John Day Co., New York, 1932.

21 See Chapter VIII.

22 See the statement of Mr. Gandhi before the Hunter Committee, pp. 1-45 of *Young India*, 1919-22, S. Ganesan, Madras, and B. W. Huebsch, New York; 1922. Also pp. 938, 983, 987, 1118. It is important to get the clear ideas from the originator of this method. See also Chapters 17 and 18 of Gandhi's *Indian Home Rule*, Ganesh & Co., Madras, 1922.

23 See "The Ethics of Nullification" by R. C. Binckley, *The New Republic* for May 1, 1929, New York; also H. J. Laski, "The Dangers of Obedience," *Harpers Magazine*, New York, for June 1929.

24 See *Young India*, 1919-22, above cited, p. 1054.

## CHAPTER XI

1 See G. W. Crile, M.D., *Origin and Nature of the Emotions*, W. B. Saunders, Philadelphia, 1915; W. B. Cannon, M.D., *Bodily Changes in Pain, Hunger, Fear and Rage*, D. Appleton, New York, 1927; cf. W. M. Marston, *Emotions of Normal People*, previously cited, and W. B. Cannon, M.D., *The Wisdom of the Body*, Chapter 13, W. W. Norton Co., New York, 1932; also A. F. Shand, *The Foundations of Character*, pp. 250-51, cited in Chapter II.

2 W. E. Hocking, *Morale and its Enemies*, pp. 155-6, Yale University Press, New Haven, U.S.A., 1918.

3 *Loc. cit.*, pp. 59, 75, 52, 30.

4 *Bodily Changes in Pain, Hunger, Fear, and Rage*, above cited.

5 Oxford Medical Publication, Oxford University Press, London, 1921, pp. 60, 65.

6 *Loc. cit.*

7 *A Physical Interpretation of Shock*, p. 63, above cited. See also Proceedings of American Medical Association, June 1930, papers by Drs. W. J. Mayo, G. A. Mollen and C. C. Wholey.

7a Cf. "Blood and Mental Disorders," by J. G. Growther, *The Week End Review*, London, for June 4, 1932, Vol. V., No. 17.

8 Cannon, *Bodily Changes in Pain*, etc., p. 196; Crile, *Origin and Nature of the Emotions*, p. 64; W. B. Cannon and D. de la Paz, "The Stimulation of Adrenalin Secretion by Emotional Excitement," *Journal of American Medical Association*, March 11, 1911.



9 Crile, *A Physical Interpretation of Shock*, pp. 83, 86, 63.

10 G. W. Crile, *Man—An Adaptive Mechanism*, Macmillan, New York, 1916.

11. Page 21, Levy edition, Macmillan, New York, 1924, Vol. 17.

12 See W. M. Marston, *Emotions of Normal People*, pp. 1—3 and Chap. 17, previously cited. Cf. W. A. White, *Outlines of Psychiatry*, 7th ed., paragraph on "Morbid Anger," Nervous and Mental Diseases Publ. Co., Washington, D. C. 919.

13 Marston, p. 365,

14 Marston, pp. 119—20, 364 *et seq.*

15 See instances cited by William James' *Varieties of Religious Experience*, Longmans Green, 1902, p. 359; C. M. Case, *Non-Violent Coercion*, pp. 242—8, Century Co., New York, 1923; Adin Ballou, *Christian Non-Violence*, pp. 146—69, Universal Peace Union, Philadelphia, 1910; see also *The Arm of God*, Oliphants Ltd., London; "The Test of Faith," by E. Richards, Vol. 131, *Atlantic Monthly*, p. 617.

16 For further consideration of the alteration of instincts and of this instinct in particular see Rivers, *Instinct and the Unconscious*, p. 57, previously cited; Trotter, *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War*, pp. 124—7, previously cited; A. M. Carr-Saunders, "Biology and War," *Foreign Affairs*, New York, April 1929, pp. 427—38; W. B. Cannon, *loc. cit.*, pp. 286—90; Nietzsche, *Ecco Homo*, Sec. 6; "Nietzsche and the Aristocratic Ideal," by A. K. Rogers, 30 *Int. J. of Ethics* 450, October 1919; W. E. Hocking, *Human Nature and its Remaking*, Chap. 1, previously cited; John Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct*, H. Holt, New York, 1922; W. M. Marston, *Emotions of Normal People*, previously cited; G. W.

Crile, *A Mechanistic View of War and Peace*, Macmillan, New York, 1915; Rivers, *Psychology and Politics*, Chap. 2, Harcourt, Brace, New York, and Kegan Paul, London, 1923; Benjamin Kidd, *The Science of Power*, Chap. 10, Putnams, New York and London, 1918.

17 A. M. Carr-Saunders, "Biology and War," Vol. VII, *Foreign Affairs*, p. 437, April 1929, New York; *They That Take the Sword*, by Esme Wingfield-Stratford, Wm. Morrow, New York, 1931, also London; cf. also the article on "Ecology" in the latest edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*; also an article, "The Struggle for Existence," by C. M. Y. in the *New Statesman and Nation* for January 30, 1932; Havelock Ellis, *The Philosophy of Conflict*, p. 42 *et seq*; C. R. Aldrich, *The Primitive Mind and Modern Civilisation*, London and New York, 1931; "The Verdict of Psychologists on War Instincts," by Dr. John M. Fletcher, *Scientific Monthly*, New York City, August 1932.

18 A. N. Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World*, Cambridge University Press, and Macmillan, New York, 1927, pp. 256, 257.

19 A. J. Lotka, *Elements of Physical Biology*, Williams & Wilkins, Baltimore, U. S. A., pp. 351, 355.

20 See address by Leland Olds, Ph. D., entitled "Health and the Labour Movement," *Proceedings of the International Conference of Women Physicians*, Vol. II, p. 21, The Woman's Press, New York, 1920.

## CHAPTER XII

1 *The Free Man and the Soldier*, by Ralph Barton Perry, Scribner's, New York, 1916, at p. 101. Also in an article "What is Worth Fighting For," *Atlantic Monthly*, December 1915, Boston.

2 William Blake, *Jerusalem*, f. 55, LI. 60-66, Oxford University Press; cf. also "He that is faithful in that which is least," etc., Luke xvi. 1-13.

3 Richard Roberts, "Ethics of William Blake," 17 *Hibbert Journal* 660 (1918).

4 "Why 'are You not a Pacifist?'" 119 *Atlantic Monthly* 745, June 1917, Boston, U. S. A.

5 G. F. Nicolai, *The Biology of War*, p. 106, Century Co., New York and London, 1918.

6 These preceding paragraphs answer the central idea of Ernest Toller's *Man and the Masses* (*Masse-mensch*), the apparent contradiction: "If you use violence you incur guilt; if you do not use violence you are destroyed by those who use it." Trans. by L. Untermeyer, Doubleday Page & Co., New York, 1924.

7 "Why are You not a Pacifist?" by Charles E. Park, 119 *Atlantic Monthly* 745, June 1917, Boston, U. S. A.

8 "The Apocalypse of War," Anon., 14 *Hibbert Journal* 512, at p. 518.

9 W. E. Hocking, *Morale and its Enemies*, Yale University Press, New Haven, U. S. A., 1918, p. 111.

10 Sir J. Stamp, *Current Problems in Finance and Government*, Chap. 4, especially p. 97.

11 Ernest L. Bogart, *Direct and Indirect Costs of the Great World War*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Oxford University Press, 1919.

12 P. J. Noel Baker, *Disarmament*, Hogarth Press, London, 1926, pp. 11, 12.

13 For other data as to the cost of war see F. B. Boekel, *Between War and Peace*, Macmillan, New York, 1925, Chap. 25; A. C. Pigou, *The Political Economy of War*, London; S. Dumas and K. O. Vedel-Peterson, *Losses of Life Caused by War*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Oxford University Press, London, 1923; Official Armaments Year Books of the League of Nations; "The Economics of Disarmament," by E. H. Davenport in the *New Statesman and Nation*, London, for January 30, 1932; *The Cost of the World War to the American People*, by John M. Clarke, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1932; News Bulletins of the National Council for prevention of War, Washington, D. C.; *The Cost of War to Russia*, by Stanislaus Kohn and A. F. Mayendorff, Yale University Press, 1932.

14 A. Rhys Williams, *Lenin*, Scott & Seltzer, New York, 1919, now published by Boni, New York. See also writings of M. K. Gandhi previously cited, and Rene Fulop-Miller, *Lenin and Gandhi*, Putnam's, New York and London, 1927.

15 See R. B. Perry, *The Free Man and the Soldier*, pp. 97 *et seq.*, above cited; also Arthur O. Lovejoy, "To Conscientious Objectors," *New Republic*, June 16, 1917, p. 187, New York.

16 A. N. Whitehead, *Religion in the Making*, Macmillan, New York, 1926, p. 113.

## CHAPTER XIII

1 *The Cultivation of Sentiment*, by Harold Burrows, Leonard Parsons, London, 1929. A sentiment has been defined as a systemised habit of feeling, and as an integrated system of ideas and emotions. In the higher forms of life, response to stimulus is effected through the organs of coordination—the nerves and brain. In man, the most highly organised form of life, co-ordination is strongly conditioned by the feelings and thoughts, especially by those organised permanent systems of thought and feeling called sentiment. A. F. Shand says, "In the growth of character the sentiments tend with increasing success to control the emotions and impulses. . . . Only where emotions are organised in sentiments and subordinated to their central control, are the higher powers of the intellect developed. . . . Every emotion or sentiment has a kind of conduct proper to it, and also its own characteristic thoughts and volitions." See his book, *The Foundations of Character*, 2nd ed., Macmillan, London and New York, pp. 62, 105; cf. *The Energies of Men*, by William McDougal, Methuen, London, 1932, and his *Social Psychology*, Chaps. 5 and 6; *Souls in the Making*, by J. G. Mackenzie, Chap. III, Allen & Unwin, London, 1928, *Psychology and Morals*, by J. A. Hatfield, 4th ed., McBride, New York, 1924; see also *Habits: Their Making and unmaking*, by Knight Dunlop, Liveright, New York, 1932, pp. 241, 242, 274; *The Crowd in Peace and War*, by Sir Martin Conway, Longmans Green, 1915, pp. 34, 36, 63, 128, 273, 332; cf. also "Keep thy heart with all diligence, for out of it are the issues of life" (Prov. iv. 23). The power and longevity of

the Roman Catholic Church are largely due to its unceasing cultivation of certain sentiments among its members.

2 *Young India*, April 9, 1931.

3 *Foundations of Character*, p. 112.

3a *Young India*, 1919-22, pp. 282, 290.

4 Cf. Note 5 of Chap. VII.

5 In Peirce's *Chance, Love and Logic*, Harcourt, Brace, New York, Kegan Paul, London, 1923, p. 268, there is this fine passage: "The love that God is, is not a love of which hatred is the contrary; otherwise Satan would have been a co-ordinate power; but it is a love which embraces hatred as an imperfect stage of it, an Anteros,—yea, even needs hatred and hatefulness as its object. For self-love is no love; so if God's self is love, that which he loves must be defect of love; just as a luminary can light up only that which otherwise would be dark. Henry James, the Swedenborgian, says: 'It is no doubt very tolerable finite or creaturely love to love one's own in another, to love another for his conformity to one's self: but nothing can be in more flagrant contrast with the creative love, all whose tenderness *ex vi termini* must be reserved only for what intrinsically is most bitterly hostile and negative to itself.'"

5a Charles S. Pierce, *Chance, Love and Logic*, cited above.

5b *Human Nature and its Remaking*, Yale University Press, New Haven, and Oxford University Press, London, 1923, pp. 374-5.

5c G. F. Barbour, "Force and the Conquest of Evil in Christian Ethics," 15 *Hibbert Journal* 464, at 470.

6 See M. E. Boole, *Boole's Psychology as a Factor in Education*, Benham & Co., Colchester, England; and

*ibid.*, *The Mathematical Psychology of Gratry and Boole*, Swan Sonnenschein, London.

7 "The Body of Humanity," *Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, April 1925, Calcutta.

8 Arthur Moore, "Bolshevism from an Eastern Angle," 131 *Atlantic Monthly* 690, May 1923.

9 Cf. T. Burrow, *The Social Basis of Consciousness*, Kegan Paul, London, Harcourt, Brace, New York, 1927.

10 *Vana* 206, 42-3.

11 Compare the following statement made by Mr. Gandhi at a meeting in Woodbrooke Hall, Birmingham, England, in October 1931: "The conviction has been growing upon me that things of fundamental importance to the people are not secured by reason alone but have to be purchased with their suffering.—Nobody has probably drawn up more petitions or espoused more forlorn causes than I, and I have come to this fundamental conclusion that if you want something really important to be done you must not merely satisfy the reason, you must move the heart also. The appeal of reason is more to the head, but the penetration of the heart comes from suffering. It opens the inner understanding in man." Reported in *Young India*, November 5, 1931, reprinted in *The Nation's Voice*—a collection of Gandhi's speeches in England, published at Ahmedabad, India, 1932.

12 These two preceding paragraphs are substantially from a letter from my friend, F. G. Goodale (R. B. G.).

13 See Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil*, Sec. 225.

13a Wm. McDougal and A. G. Tansley. See Tansley's *The New Psychology*, P. 205, Allen & Unwin, London, 1925.

14 Cf. the similar action of Father Zossima in Dostoievsky's *The Brothers Karamazov*.

15 Cf. "Nietzsche and the Aristocratic Ideal," by A. K. Rogers, 30 *Int. J. of Ethics* 450, October 1919.

16 *Morale and Its Enemies*, p. 161.

17 As noted in Chapter VIII.

18 The matters discussed in this chapter and the next should be considered with reference to the qualities of a non-violent resister mentioned in Chapter II. A detailed programme should be worked out for the stimulus, cultivation and exercise of each of the sentiments required for nonviolent resistance, with careful correlation and proportion between them. Some aid may be derived from reading and study of the best written discussions of the various desirable sentiments. For example, on Love see in the New Testament the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew v, vi and vii); the Gospel of John xiv, xv; 1 Corinthians xiii; the First Epistle of John; also Henry Drummond's essay, "The Greatest Thing in the World"; the *Narada Sutra* (Hindu), John M. Watkins, London; *New Treasure: A Study in the Psychology of Love*, by the Earl of Lytton, Allen & Unwin, London, 1934; Anders Nygren, *Agape and Eros*, trans. by A. G. Herbert, S P C. K., London, Macmillan, New York, 1932; *The Practice of Christianity*, by the author of *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*, Macmillan, London, 1913; *Love in the New Testament*, by James Moffatt, Richard R. Smith, Inc., New York, 1930; *The Journal of John Woolman*, Houghton & Mifflin, Boston, U. S. A. (also a British ed.); and sundry passages from Spinoza and William Blake and from the sayings of Buddha and St. Francis of Assisi. On Truth see Abbe Dimnet, *What We Live By*, 1932; Mrs. K. F. Gerould, *Modes and Morals*, 1920; J. S. Hoyland, *History as Direction*, 1930; William James, *The Meaning of Truth*, and *Collected Essays and Reviews*; W. R. Inge, *Science and Ultimate Truth*, 1926; H. Martineau, "Essays on the Pursuit of Truth" in her



*Miscellanies*, 1836; F. C. S. Schiller, *Humanism*; Josiah Royce, "Doubting and Working" in his *Fugitive Essays*. On Courage see R. W. Emerson's essay on "Courage" in the volume of his essays entitled *Society and Solitude*; Canon B. H. Streeter, "Moral Adventure," in the book entitled *Adventure*, by Streeter, Chalcott and others, Macmillan, 1929; Jeannette Marks, *Courage To-day and Tomorrow*, The Woman's Press, New York, 1917. On Tolerance, see the Meditations of Marcus Aurelius, and a sermon by Bishop Phillips Brooks of Boston, U. S. A. In general see *The Treasure House of Living Religions*, ed. by Robert E. Hume, Scribner's Sons, New York, 1932.

## CHAPTER XIV

1 See Chapter VIII.

1a See W. M. Marston, *Emotions of Normal People*, pp. 364-6, previously cited. Also our Chapter IV.

2 Cf. W. H. R. Rivers, *Instinct and the Unconscious*, p. 54, Cambridge University Press, 1920; also Chap. III *supra*.

3 Many Christians would say that righteous indignation is all right because Christ was reported to have expressed it on several occasions. But the record of Christ's sayings and actions in regard to anger and violence is not wholly consistent, and a thorough discussion of this point would fill a small book and even then could not be conclusive. The argument of this book is not based on the authority of any one or two men, nor even on the thinking of pacifists or non-violent resisters alone. It is derived from a great

stream of ideas of many kinds of men, including even the militarists. I have tried to avoid using the sayings of founders of religions as authority for my conclusions. Such quotations as I have made from them have been chiefly by way of illustration. I do not so much believe that non-violent resistance is true because some or all religious leaders proclaimed it, as that those authorities proclaimed it because it is true. I have read and thought carefully about this particular point but will not attempt such discussion here. I am preparing, however, a detailed consideration of that point and of Gandhi's alleged inconsistencies, which I hope to get published some day.

4 R. Roberts, "The Ethics of William Blake," 17 *Hibbert J.* 660.

5 Cf. Chapter IV *supra*.

6 See W. A. White, *Mechanisms of Character Formation*, Chaps. 4, 5, 12, Macmillan, New York, 1920; E. B. Holt, *The Freudian Wish*, H. Holt, New York, 1929.

7 In this connection see in the 14th edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1929) the articles on "Ecology" and "Symbiosis" and the ecology sections of the article on "Plants." Also the part on ecology in *Life: Outlines of General Biology*, by J. Arthur Thompson and Patrick Geddes, London and New York, 1931; Wm. A. White, *The Meaning of Disease*, Williams & Wilkins, Baltimore, 1926; J. Macleod, "The Struggle for Existence and Mutual Aid," 16 *Hibbert Journal* 206, 1917.

8 E. B. Holt, *The Freudian Wish*, above cited.

9 In regard to this interconnection of feeling, thought and action compare Buddha's Eightfold Path: Right View, Right Resolution, Right Speaking, Right Acting, Right Mode of Life, Right Effort, Right Recollectedness, Right Concentration.

10 Of course many agnostics and atheists deny the intelligence of those who believe in God and the soul. But there have been a number of philosophers generally considered great and a number of men of action generally considered successful and intelligent, who have believed in God and the soul. This is not a book on metaphysics, or an attempt to prove the existence of God or of such a thing called spirit. Perhaps more people would believe in spirit if they found it is a power, and the practice of non-violent resistance may provide the kind of evidence of power that such people demand. All the great advances in science have occurred by someone first making an hypothesis, and then testing the hypothesis by observation of selected facts. So here we may make an hypothesis about life and then test it by our own lives and by observation of the lives of others. See J. W. N. Sullivan, *Aspects of Science*, Second Series, Collins, London, 1926; also his *Gallio, or the Future of Science*, Kegan Paul, London, and E. P. Dutton, New York, 1926.

11 Gandhi has said countless times that *Satyagraha* is founded on a firm belief in God. See William James, "The Moral Philosopher and the Moral Life," in *The Will to Believe*, Longmans Green, London, and New York, 1905. See also "Is Life Worth Living" in the same book of essays.

12 Cf. *The Learned Knife* by Lawrence Hyde, Gerald Howe, Ltd., London, 1931.

13 Cf. "What is Violence?" by George A. Coe, *The World To-morrow*, October 19, 1932, New York City.

## CHAPTER XV

1 In what follows it will be understood that I make no claim to have mastered these details of discipline myself. I do know, however, that they comprise many of the elements upon which we must work if we care to equip ourselves with the new method.

1a See Chap. XI

2 "It takes a fairly strenuous course of training to attain to a mental state of non-violence. In daily life it has to be a discipline though one may not like it, like for instance the life of a soldier. But I agree that unless there is hearty co-operation of the mind, the mere outward observance will be simply a mask, harmful both to the man himself and to others. The perfect state is reached only when mind and body and speech are in proper co-ordination. But it is always a case of intense mental struggle.—Such a struggle leaves one stronger for it."—M. K. Gandhi in *Young India* for October 1, 1931.

2a Non-violent resistance is only one of the modes of *Satyagraha*.

3 A good book on meditation for beginners is *From Intellect to Intuition*, by Alice A. Bailey, Lucis Publ. Co., New York, 1932. Another is *The Art of Mental Prayer*, by Rev. Bede Frost, Morehouse Publ. Co., Milwaukee, Wis. See also Basil King, *The Conquest of Fear*, Doubleday Doran, New York, 1921; also A. C. Benson, *Where No Fear Was*, Putnam's, 1914.

3a On January 3, 1932, the day before he was arrested by the Government, Gandhi said of prayer :

"Let it become a daily obligatory ritual for you.—The more you apply yourselves to it, the more fearlessness you will experience in daily life, for fearlessness is a sign and symbol of self-purification. I do not know a man or a woman who was on the path of self-purification and was still obsessed by fear. Generally there are two kinds of fear in men's minds, fear of death and fear of loss of material possessions. A man of prayer and self-purification will shed the fear of death and embrace death as a boon companion and will regard all earthly possessions as fleeting and of no account. He will see that he has no right to possess wealth when misery and pauperism stalk the land, and when there are millions who have to go without a meal. No power on earth can subdue a man who has shed these two fears. But for that purpose the prayer should be a thing of the heart and not a thing of outward demonstration."—*Young India*, January 7, 1932.

4 Rivers, *Instinct and the Unconscious*, pp. 57, 241–2.

5 See *The Book of Bravery*, by H. W. Lanier, Scribner's, New York, 1927; *Peace Crusaders*, compiled by Anna B. Griscom, J. B. Lippincott, Philadelphia and London, 1928; *World Friendship*, Los Angeles City School District, Publication No. 214, 1931; *The Book of Courage*, by Hermann Hagedorn, John C. Winston Co., Philadelphia, 1929; *Adventures in World Friendship*, sponsored by the Committee on World Friendship among Children, New York City.

An understanding of the psychology of non-violent resistance as explained in Chaps. II, III and IV would probably help teachers in their task. Diagrams similar to those used in physics to explain the mechanical resolution of forces, could be used to explain certain of the ideas in Chapter IV. Because of the child's necessity for

action, he should be taught early to emphasise constructive action and how to combine and utilise, so far as possible, the energy of all apparently conflicting desires. Chapters XIII and XIV may also be useful in this connection. The child should be shown that gentleness gives power, that it is mature, "grown up," dignified, and something to strive for. During adolescence, parts of these chapters could be used directly for instruction. Such instruction must begin very early. See the chapters on "The Physiology of Wishes" and "The Wish in Ethics" in E. B. Holt's *The Freudian Wish and its Place in Ethics*, Henry Holt, New York, 1929. Also the chapter on "Habit" in William James' *Principles of Psychology*. Also *Hindu Mind Training*, by an Anglo-Saxon Mother, Longmans Green, 1917, Introduction by S. M. Mitra.

6 For excellent suggestions see W. M. Marston, *Emotions of Normal People*; I. P. Pavlov, *Conditioned Reflexes*; E. B. Holt, *The Freudian Wish*, all previously cited: *Recent Advances in Physiology*, by C. L. Evans, Blakiston, Philadelphia, 1928; T. Burrows, *The Social Basis of Consciousness*, previously cited. Also Leo Tolstoi, *Confessions* and *The Kingdom of God is Within You*.

A valuable means for stimulating and cultivating the imagination is for the non-violent resister to keep a record of all his thoughts on the subject of non-violence, noting them down immediately as soon as they come to him, and later copying them into a permanent notebook devoted to this subject. Recording the thought somehow stimulates the imagination or the subconsciousness to put forth another related idea, but if no attention is paid to the first idea, it is apt to wither away. Carry paper and pencil with you always, and never postpone noting down a new thought, or you will

pretty surely forget it. This procedure seems to make ideas grow like a tree, and after a year or so the person following it will find himself with a well-rounded and solid personal philosophy of personal relations. In this way also leaders will develop and carry forward the concept and its practice to great heights. Gandhi's weekly paper *Young India* has been in part a public notebook of the development of his thinking.

7 Cf. William James' essay on "Habit."

8 Much help to one's thinking on these matters can be found in the writings of M. K. Gandhi (published by S. Ganesan and Natesan & Co., Madras, and by Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad, India); in Thoreau's *Life without Principle* and *The Virtue of Civil Disobedience*; in Kipling's poem "If"; in the books cited in the footnotes of this book. See also the excellent bibliography of books on war and peace in F. B. Boekel's *Between War and Peace*, Macmillan, New York, 1928.

9 See *Young India*, 1919-22, S. Ganesan, Madras, and B. W. Huebsch, New York, in index under "Jails." Also the books by J. W. Graham and Norman Thomas on conscientious objectors in England and America, previously cited, and *Fighting for Peace*, by W. J. Chamberlain, No More war Movement, London. Also "Some Rules for Satyagrahis," *Young India*, February 23, 1930, reprinted in Chap. 3 of Winslow and Elwin, *Gandhi: The Dawn of Indian Freedom*, referred to above in Chap. I.

10 Cf. C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards, *The Meaning of Meaning*, Kegan Paul, London, and Harcourt, Brace, New York, 1927; I. A. Richards, *Principles of Literary Criticism*, *ibid.*, 1926; A. Korzybsky, *Time Binding—The General Theory*, Papers 1 and 2, E. P. Dutton, New York, 1924, and Jas. Wood, Washington, D. C., 1926.

11-See Marston, *Emotions of Normal People*, pp. 152-4, on the psychological value of persistence and tenacity, on the principles of prolongation, repetition and summation of stimuli.

12 Luke xi. 5-10.

13 In this connection see *Thoreau, Philosopher of Freedom*, edited by James Mackaye, Vanguard Press, New York, 1930.

14 Cf. T. Burrows, *Social Basis of Consciousness*, previously cited.

15. Cf. S. E. Stokes, *The Failure of European Civilization as a World Culture*, S. Ganesan, Madras, India.

16. Cf. Rabindranath Tagore, *Nationalism*, Macmillan; T. Veblen, *The Nature of Peace*, Macmillan, 1917.

17 In this connection remember Baudouin's *Law of Reversed Effort*, mentioned in our chapter on "What Happens." See *Right and Wrong Thinking*, by A. M. Crane, Lathrop, Lee & Shepard Co., Boston, 1905.

18 Reinhold Niebuhr, *A Critique of Pacifism*, 139 *Atlantic Monthly* 637, May 1927.

19 Cf. Havelock Ellis, *The Dance of Life*, Chap. 6.

20 See writings of Rabindranath Tagore.

## CHAPTER XVI

1 *Young India* for April 24, 1930.

2 In this connection the practical details of organisation of Gandhi's 1921-22 movement are of interest. For example, take the All-India Volunteer Corps devised by Mr. Gandhi and adopted by the Working Committee of the All-India National Congress. Gandhi's former



secretary, Krishnadas, describes it thus in his *Seven Months with Mahatma Gandhi* ( Vol. II, pp. 42, 43 ), cited above :

“ Two volunteers would form a unit, and each unit would elect its own captain, to be called ‘ Leader.’ Twenty such leaders would among themselves elect one as their head, called ‘ Officer.’ All other officers would be appointed by the Provincial Board. In every province five members would form a Board or Central Committee of control. The Board will elect its own Chairman. In this way Mahatmaji (Gandhi) conceived the plan of non-violent soldiers for preserving the peace of the country. To put away from the minds of these volunteers all thoughts of their having to engage in a bloody fight, Mahatmaji took precaution at the very outset, and definitely laid down in his draft resolution that they should not adopt the uniform of soldiers, and they were positively forbidden to go about with swords. But If they so wished they might carry ordinary sticks four feet long.

“ About their duties Mahatmaji laid down that they would preserve peace and order, organise and regulate meetings, processions and *hartals* ( suspensions of business ), and in case of emergency would render social service under the direction of their leaders. Every volunteer would have to sign a pledge. . . . The first clause of that pledge was that the volunteer was to render implicit obedience to the orders of his superior officer. The second condition was that he was to observe non-violence in word and in deed, and inculcate the spirit of non-violence amongst others. A third condition was that he must be prepared to run all risks attendant upon the performance of his duties.”

3 See M. P. Follett, *The New State*, Longmans Green, New York, 1918; *ibid.*, *Creative Experience*; *ibid.*, 1924; W. E. Hocking, *Man and the State*, pp. 315-7, Yale University Press, 1926; H. S. Elliott, *The Process of Group Thinking*, The Association Press, New York, 1928; A. D. Sheffield, *Joining in Public Discussion*, Doran, New York, 1922; *ibid.*, *Creative Discussion*, The Inquiry, New York, 1929; *ibid.*, *Training for Group Experience*, *ibid.*: Frank Walser, *The Art of Conference*, Harper & Bros., New York, 1933; Boris Bogoslovsky, *The Technique of Controversy*, Trubner & Co., London, 1928; E. C. Lindeman, *Community Conflict*, *ibid.*, 1929; E. B. Holt, *The Freudian Wish*, previously cited.

4 Compare Gandhi's writings and life as a leader of such a movement. His activities are well described in Winslow and Elwin's *Gandhi: the Dawn of Indian Freedom*, and in *Mahatma Gandhi*, published by Natesan, Madras, both referred to in Chap. I.

In group training, use may be made of all known forms of education and propaganda; schools and colleges, churches, Sunday Schools, cinemas, lectures, debates, readings, radio talks, dramas, poems, songs, instrumental music, fixed periodical days commemoration and celebration, public parades and drills, emblems, posters, flags, statuary, paintings, games, crossword puzzles, competitions, prize essays, articles in daily press, weekly and monthly magazines, books, men's and women's clubs and societies, Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, student organisations, international organisations, etc.

4a Those who desire to work out detailed programmes or courses of study and discipline for non-violent resisters should reconsider the topics of habit, discipline, stimulus, summation of stimuli, repetition, persistence, practice, imagination, suggestion, imitation, courage, sentiment, symbol, will, discussed in this book.

In regard to stimulus and response they can find excellent further ideas in *An Outline of Modern Biology*, by C. R. Plunkett, Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1930; *Protoplasmic Action and Nervous Action*, by Ralph S. Lillie, University of Chicago Press, 1923; *Irritability: A Physiological Analysis of the General Effect of Stimuli in Living Substances*, by Max Verworn, Yale University Press, New Haven, U. S. A., 1913; *Response in Living and Non-living*, by Sir J. C. Bose, Longmans Green, London, 1902; *Irritability of Plants*, by the same author and same publisher, 1913; also his *Nervous Mechanisms of Plants*, 1926; Chapters 7 and 8 of *Homeopathic Principles in Therapeutics*, by T. H. McGavack, Boericke & Tafel, Philadelphia, 1932; *The Science of Psychology*, by Raymond H. Wheeler, T. Y. Crowell Co., New York, 1929; *The Laws of Human Behaviour*, by the same author, Cambridge University Press, London, and Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1932.

5 *Young India*, January 9, 1930.

Further light on Gandhi's ideas about the details of discipline for the leaders of a non-violent movement may be had from the vows taken by members of his Ashram at Sabarmati. This institution was founded partly to train leaders for this purpose. These vows include the following subjects: truth, harmlessness, celibacy, restraint of the palate, poverty and utter simplicity of living, tolerance, fearlessness, *swadeshi* (the belief that man's primary duty is to serve his neighbour, therefore to rely on locally made goods so far as possible), and hand labour. Of these, all but fearlessness, *swadeshi* and hand-labour are disciplines (*yamas*) which have been practised by Hindu religious seers for several thousand years, the first five dating way back to Patanjali. To an Occidental such discipline may seem exaggerated, but probably Orientals with their longer

experience in these matters understand the depth and subtleties of the matter better than we of the West. Gandhi discussed these vows fairly fully in a series of letters to the Ashram members written while he was in Yeravada Jail in 1930. These were published under the title of *From Yeravada Mandir*, at Navajivan Karyalaya, Gandhi Road, Ahmedabad, 1933. See also *Young India*, 1919-22, previously cited.

6 Gandhi's hand-spinning and hand-weaving programme for the relief of peasant unemployment in India has these advantages. For discussion of them see my pamphlet *Gandhiism vs. Socialism*, The John Day Co., New York, 1932; and my *Economics of Khaddar*, Ganesan, Madras, India, 1931.

6a In Gandhi's statement of reasons for beginning again the campaign of individual civil disobedience, issued at Ahmedabad, July 27, 1933, he is reported to have said: "The continuance of civil disobedience, even by one person, ensures its revival by those who might have given it up through despair and weakness. . . . The masses have not yet learnt to act as one man and without direction. They need more training and experience through the example of individuals. . . . Whilst Congressmen may be counted by the crore (i.e. ten million), civil resistance under the new scheme will be represented only by a few thousand or even less. If these few are true men and women, I am certain that they will multiply into millions. All the best men and women must quickly find their way to prison. . . . Their example will prove infectious in a mass awakening that cannot possibly be crushed by any repression, be it ever so ferocious." This is in accordance with the verse in the third book of the Bhagavad Gita, "What the wise people choose the unwise people take; what best men do the multitude will follow." It is borne out by the

history of the early Christian Church and by the power of all aristocracies.

7 E.g. *Psychology and the Soldier*, by F. C. Bartlett, Cambridge University Press, London, 1927; *The Psychology of Courage*, by H. G. Lord, Luce & Co., Boston, 1918; *Morale and Its Enemies*, by W. E. Hocking, Yale University Press, 1918. In Chapter VI we quoted a statement that "The whole army training is designed for this one purpose of merging the individual into the mass." The discipline of non-violence is not wholly unlike this, only broader, more self-regulated, and not so external. Military discipline aims to make a soldier one with his own army. Non-violent discipline also aims to establish a unity, but a larger one. It is intended to help the non-violent resister to realise his moral and spiritual unity with all men, including his opponents, and to act in full accordance with the implications of that realisation.

8 Essay entitled *Paleface*, p. 95, Chatto and Windus, London, 1929. See also Pierre Bonet, *The Fighting Instinct* (trans.), Allen & Unwin, London, 1923, pp. 198 *et seq.*

9 See W. A. White, *Mechanisms of Character Formation*, Macmillan, 1920.

10 This was made vivid in Sir Martin Conway's book, *The Crowd in Peace and War*, Longmans Green, London and New York, 1915. The quotation from Gandhi at the beginning of this chapter was in part a comment upon a few extracts which he quoted from pages 63, 74 and 75 of Sir Martin's book. See also Charles E. Merriam, *Political Power*, Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1934.

10a Many valuable suggestions about crowd psychology and behaviour are found in Sir Martin Conway's book above cited.

10b Cf. Chap. VIII.

11 See Aristotle's *Politics*; A. C. Bradley, "Aristotle's Conception of the State" in *Hellenica*, ed. by E. Abbott, Rivingtons, Oxford, 1880; Graham-Wallas, *The Great Society and Human Nature in Politics*, London and New York. Also the testimony of Lord Haldane before the British Coal Industry Commission and the Report of the Commission itself. Also R. H. Tawney, *The Acquisitive Society*, Bell, London, 1926, and the writings of H. J. Laski, the two autobiographical books of Henry Ford, Mr. Justice Brandeis' book on American Trusts, R. Mukerjee, *Democracies of the East*, London, and a paper by D. Brown, Vice-President of General Motors Corporation on "Decentralised Operations and Responsibilities with Co-ordinated Control," before American Management Association, New York, February, 1927; also two papers by Robert B. Wolf, M. E., "Modern Industry and the Individual," January and February, 1919, issues of *System*; A. W. Shaw Co. of Chicago, and his paper "The Creative Workman," Vol. II of *Proceedings of the International Conference of Women*; R. B. Gregg, *Economics of Khaddar*, second ed. Ganesan, Madras, India, 1931.

12 See *Young India*, 1919-1922, Ganesan, Madras and Huebsch, New York, 1923; *Young India*, 1924-1926, Ganesan, Madras; *My Experiments with Truth*, by M. K. Gandhi; *Satyagraha in South Africa*, by M. K. Gandhi; *Mahatma Gandhi, His Own Story*, ed. by C. F. Andrews, Macmillan, New York, and Allen & Unwin, London, 1920.

13 *Young India*, February 6, 1930.

14 *Young India*, January 16, 1930.

15 Those who seek practical information as to the conduct of non-violent resistance by exploited races or nations are referred to in Chapter I and the citations there. Some political and economic problems and lines of solution of them have also been suggested in earlier chapters.

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